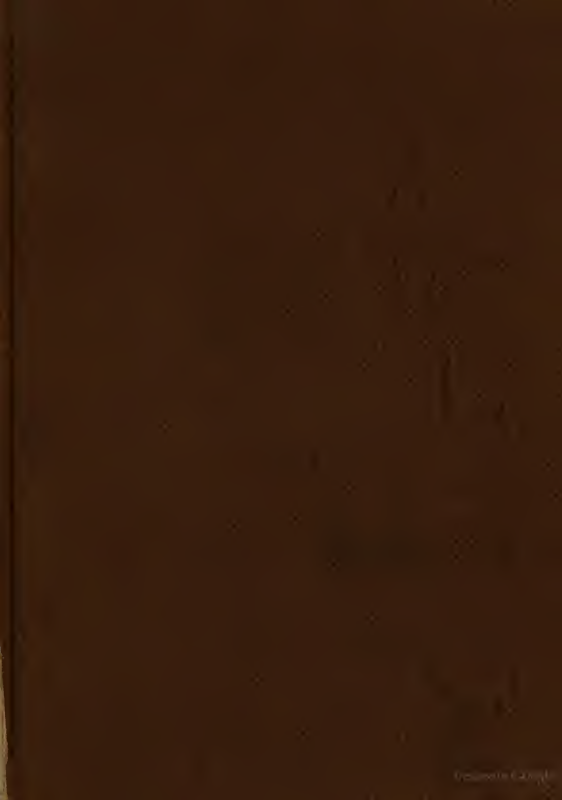
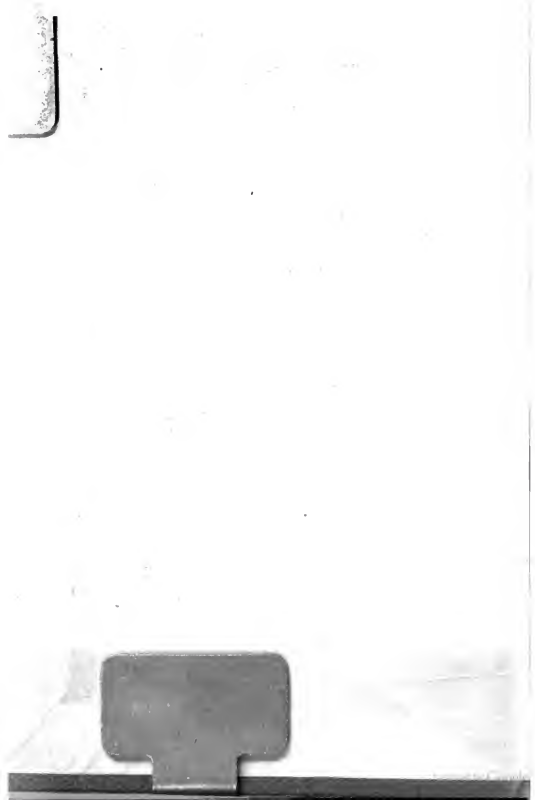








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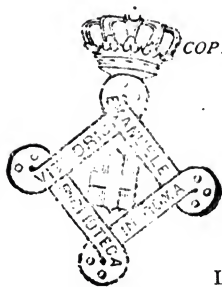
HISTORY OF TWO QUEENS.

I. CATHARINE OF ARAGON.

II. ANNE BOLEYN.

BY

WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON.



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VOL. III.



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BOOK THE NINTH.
THE ENGLISH COURT.

(Continued.)

CHAPTER IV.

Edmond de la Pole.

1503.

I. EDMOND DE LA POLE, the Yorkist exile, was at Aachen, living under Max's favour and engaged in plots for the recovery of his kingdom. The affair at Santa Clara, where the Excellenta of Castille was lodged, enabled Isabel to gauge the value of this Yorkist exile to the royal house. By Arthur's death, the hopes of Pole, and of the partizans of Pole, were greatly raised. Apart from Richard's will and acts of settlement, Pole was next male heir to Henry's second son. "The Emperor must be told," he wrote to his commissioner at the Kaiser's court, "that if Prince Henry were to die, my title would be clear beyond dispute." Of course, some females stood before him, but much cooler men than Pole endorsed his view, that females, though they might transmit a legal right, could never wear

the English crown. Thus Pole was next in order of succession to the Prince of Wales. "The King is much afraid of him," said the Venetian agent, Mocenigo, to the Doge and Signory.

2. The thought had come to Isabel in her turret, that a prince who would not arm for an illusory right in France might fall into her plans through fear of Edmond de la Pole. A man so busy with his shrines and hospitals, would not like his works to be disturbed. A prince so slow to fight, would make some sacrifice for the sake of peace. A monarch bent on curbing factions, would do much to keep the Red Rose and the White from rallying into hostile camps. In brief, she fancied that a king who sought for unity through peace might be persuaded to adopt her offers, if he could be shown that his acceptance of those offers was the surest guarantee of a pacific reign at home. Then rose the question, how could she proceed to act upon his hopes and fears? If Pole had been at Avila instead of Aachen, her proceeding might have been as swift in execution as in thought—"Sign me," she might have said, "this marriage contract, and receive your rebel, Edmond de la Pole." But Pole was in the Emperor's country, not in hers. What means had she of acting on the Emperor, so that Edmond's fate might seem to hang upon her word? The best—and worse—a sovereign could desire. The Emperor's son—his only son— was in her power.

3. When Miguel's death had left Juana heiress of Castille, Philip and his consort had repaired to

Spain in order to receive the formal recognition of their rights. No opposition had been raised to them, like that which had disturbed the peace of Isabel, for Philip's wife was popular in the cities and the towns, whatever might be said of her in the inquisitor's cell. Toledo was not readier to acclaim her rights than Zaragoza, where the Friends of Light could hail in her the promise of a Queen of Light. It was enough that she was feared and slandered by inquisitors, and was expected to abolish them when she was queen. For her the cities had resumed a gaiety they had not known for years; all sumptuary laws being set aside; and every man appearing in the streets in silk and plumes, according to his taste. High festivals had been held, and bull-fights given in honour of the pair; but Philip, used to the free air and joyous life of Ghent, had sickened of the monkish court, and told the Queen he should go back to Flanders. But he had not been allowed to leave Castille. From week to week the Queen had raised objections to his going. Oaths were to be sworn; Juana was in feeble health; more bulls and horses must be gored and stabbed. Month followed month; the visit lengthened to a year; yet Philip and his wife were kept in Spain. Some voices in the Kaiser's court were asking whether Philip had not fallen into a snare? That Isabel could seize him as a hostage, Max had bitter proof in her behaviour to his cousin, her own niece, the Excellenta, who had been so long her prisoner in a foreign convent. After such a crime, the mere detention of his son in Spain would seem a trifle.

Max grew more alarmed as days flew by. At length some hint was dropped, that Philip's freedom to depart from Spain might turn upon the Emperor's action in regard to Edmond de la Pole.

4. His standing in regard to Pole was awkward. Max had caused him to retire from London; Max had recognised him as a cousin; Max had given him an asylum in his states; and Max had promised him his best support. Such acts were serious, even to a man so great and flighty as the Emperor. When Pole first fled from London, he had simply crossed the straits to Guisnes and Hamme, where two strict Yorkist captains held command. Tyrrel had been at Guisnes, while Curzon lay at Hamme. These partizans had received him till he made his peace. When Pole went back to London, Curzon had requested leave to enter the Imperial service as a champion of the Cross; and having fought in Hungary with high distinction, had been made a baron of the Empire, and promoted to a place at court. He had been treated as an agent for the Yorkist prince. Invited by the Emperor to assume the part of a pretender, Pole had taken counsel with his Yorkist friends, Grey, Bouchier, Courtney, and with their concurrence had resolved to fly. "Tell him," the Emperor had said to Curzon, "if so great a member of the House of York will come to me, and trust in my protection, I will help him more than any man alive to win his crown." On this Imperial promise, Pole had sped to the imperial court at Inst.

5. Received with smiles and favours, Pole had ventured to remind the Emperor of his promise; but to promise was an easy thing to Max; as easy as to spend his money; while to keep a promise was as hard as keeping out of debt. To vex the King of England was to injure Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent. Not long ago, the English council had suspended trade with Flanders, and the clamour of his cities had compelled him to appease the Tudor prince. What those free towns might do, he had already seen, and shrank from raising such a storm as that of Bruges. While Max was musing on his broken promise, Pole had flushed with heat. "Let me retire, and seek my fortune in another place;" but Max had been as loth to let him go, as he had been unglad to see him come. He feared that Pole might go to France. His cousin, he had cried, should stay with him at Imst, and when he left that place should have an escort worthy of a prince. An Emperor could not see a cousin robbed. Let Henry Tudor look for storms!

6. Pole's chief attendant in his flight had been his steward, Thomas Killingworth, on whom had fallen the task of shaping ways and means. Bontemps, the Imperial treasurer, had devised with Killingworth a scheme for raising money. Bontemps had written a letter of credit in the Emperor's name, on certain bankers and officials in the town of Aachen. Max had undertaken to provide five thousand men-at-arms for three months, with ships to carry them across the sea, and means to land them safely on the English shore. The Emperor, who

had neither troops nor fleets to lend, and was so poor in purse that he was forced to leave his wife in pawn at country inns, till money could be sent to pay his bills, imagined he could get Heinrich, Graf von Ardek, to supply the men, and Hans, King of Denmark, to supply the ships. In ninety days, the Yorkist prince (having landed on the coast, subdued the country, and obtained his crown) would have to make his choice of either paying off these troops, or sending out an equal tale of men to help the Emperor in his wars. These pledges given and taken, Pole had sped to Aachen, the Imperial city, where he was to show his letter, get his ducats, and await the coming of his troops.

CHAPTER V.

Max and Pole.

1503.

1. AROUSED by tales of Pole's success at the Imperial court, the Tudor Prince had taken measures to defend his crown. His first success had been with Rome. In every tussle with the House of York he had relied on Holy Church. A papal brief had carried him to Redland Marsh; a papal bull had smitten Simnel; and a papal bull had crushed the Rose of York. The blackened corpse of Swit had been a witness for the Church and King. The poisonous Cornish ale had proved that Henry was a favourite of Heaven. A prayer had, therefore, been proffered in Rome; and Rome had given her servant all he asked. A censure had been shown by Warham in a solemn service at St. Paul's; in which good Catholics had been told that to rebel against the King was to rebel against the God who made him king.

2. At Imst, his efforts had been less complete. Not daring to provoke the English Court too far, the Kaiser had proposed to name commissioners who might confer with certain English councillors on the question in dispute. Warham had crossed to Antwerp, with instructions to demand the banishment

of Pole, and other matters; but these other matters were to turn on the affairs of Pole. If Max would give up Pole, the King was ready to become his friend, and to renew with him, against the Turk, a league which he had formerly made with him against the French. But nothing had been done. When the commissioners arrived at Antwerp, they had wasted days and weeks in trifles; and when Warham, weary of such tricks, had pushed them to the wall at last, they had replied that they were agents for the Archduke, not the Emperor; that they had no authority to speak of Pole; that if the English envoys raised Imperial questions they must wait for new instructions from their master. Warham had returned to London satisfied that Max's objects were to make a little money and to gain a little time.

3. In feverish mood the Yorkist Prince had waited in the town of Charles the Great. No troops had come; no money had been raised. The banks refused to cash the Kaiser's note, and Pole had raised more money on his credit as an English peer than he could muster as the Emperor's friend. At length he heard from Killingworth that Ardek had arrived at the Imperial court without a single man-at-arms; declaring that his lances would not fight for Pole unless their pay was furnished in advance. This blow had almost crushed the exile; for to raise so large a sum as Ardek asked was hopeless. "Keep your heart up," said the Emperor; "if the present way has failed another can be tried." But while this Yorkist prince was fretting in the streets of Aachen, news had come from England to appal a

stouter heart than his. William de la Pole, his youngest brother, had been flung into the Tower. Courtney had been carried to that prison which he was not to leave again whilst Henry Tudor lived. More startling still had been the fate of Tyrrel. A detachment, marching out of Calais, had summoned Tyrrel to submit. This Yorkist plotter, fearing that his end was nigh, had closed the gates of Guisnes. Would he come out and parley? Yes, he had replied, he would, if Bishop Fox would pledge his honour that he should be free to come and go unharmed. The Bishop having given a promise, Tyrrel, after settling with his son a private token, came into the English camp. Scant ceremony had been used with him. He was arrested and conveyed on board a ship, where Lovel, with a glance that quelled his spirit, bade him send a token of surrender to his son. "If he refuses," Lovel thundered, "fling him into the sea." At once he gave the token; and a few weeks later he was put to death.

4. The Kaiser wanted help in gold. A war was raging on his frontier with an enemy of the Cross. All Catholic kings, he said, were bound to aid him with supplies. But Henry had been slow to answer those appeals. A war to liberate the Holy Sepulchre and free the multitude of slaves, the English sovereign understood. That Sepulchre was in the hands of infidels, and every Moslem port from Tangiers to Smyrna, was dotted with the forms of Christian slaves. Since Malaga had been captured, and her citizens sold by Isabel, a wide extension had been given to this infernal trade. Retaliation is the

law of human wrong, and after Spain had set her foul example, every fanatic in Islam had endeavoured to revenge the Crescent on the Cross. The Moslem were the conquering race, and even under Bajazet the passions of a marabout could seldom be restrained. No sultan used his power against the Christians as the King and Queen of Spain abused their power against the Moors and Jews, yet victory on victory had brought so many prisoners to the Moslem camps that third-rate cities had so many as twenty thousand Christian slaves in each. A war to liberate these slaves was what the King of England called a holy war. But Pesth was not a sacred city, and to fight with Bajazet for the Danube was an enterprise as worldly as to fight with Louis for the Rhine. On hearing that ambassadors were coming from the Emperor to seek assistance in this spurious "holy war," Henry had stopt them with a word, "Let those who cannot beat the Turks make peace." Yet Warham, having seen how much a little coin might wring from Max, proposed to pay a certain sum of money, under pretext of an offering for the war in Hungary, if Max would sign a treaty binding him to drive the Yorkist fugitive from his states. Max hummed and paused; but less at the dishonour of his deed, than at the sum of money he could get for banishing his cousin Pole. The King of England offered him ten thousand pounds in gold. He wanted more, and Henry would not give another groat. At length the Emperor snatched his pen and signed the document, on which an English envoy paid him down ten thousand pounds.

5. As soon as Max had signed a treaty, binding him to banish Pole, both France and Spain took measures to secure his person. Though he could not leave his house for duns, the Yorkist Prince was now a pivot of events. While Louis and Fernando were at strife, the King of England held the sword, and as he struck the victory seemed likely to incline; but neither Louis nor Fernando could persuade the King to strike. If either had the young pretender in his hands, his means of acting on the English court, where the domestic question of the dynasty was everything, would be enormously increased. Each knew that when the Emperor had withdrawn his countenance from Pole, the Prince would lie exposed to every one's attack; and that a little gold would pay a gang of ruffians to entrap him, seize him, and carry him beyond the sea. Louis professed his willingness to undertake this job. Among the host of friends and well-wishers whom he had in Germany, some, he said, would readily oblige him. Pole was coming to the Palatinate from Aachen. If he came, he would be near the French frontier, and might be waylaid, gagged, and brought across. If Henry wished him to be stolen, Louis informed him by an agent he was willing to engage the ruffians and supply the means.

6. Isabel had tried to gain her ends through Max. Her envoy, Manuel, had her orders to support the English views; but Max took little notice of his words, and dallied with the message till the English money had been spent. A river running to

the sea, that gold had slipt away unseen, and drifted towards an unknown shore. When his last coin was gone, the Kaiser had begun to feel some qualms. Had he been doing what beseeemed a king of men? Who was the prince whom he had signed away for so much dross? A kinsman, nay a guest. Could he in nature drive that kinsman from his door? Could he in honour sell that guest? This man was not his captive, whom he had a right to vend for his own profit. Pole, who had a great position and a fine estate, had come into his country freely, on a promise that he should be helped. Yet Max had taken money from a foe to turn that guest and kinsman from his door. That money was no less the wages of his shame because it bore the decent name of contribution towards a holy war. What could a Knight and Kaiser do to save his honour and to keep his pledge? A lucky fancy started in his brain. He, Max, was not an ordinary man. He had two beings and estates. He was an Archduke and an Emperor; he ruled a petty province and a mighty realm. Suppose he were to say it was the Archduke Max, and not the Emperor Max, who had subscribed the articles? As Archduke he might keep his faith with Henry, while as Emperor he could still provide a home for Pole. This lucky fancy was adopted; Pole being banished from the Austrian states, but left to choose a home in any other place. At Aachen, far from the hereditary states, this act might seem a ponderous joke; but Englishmen, to whom this breach of treaty brought a fear of civil war, raised loud complaint.

Max tried to put them off, and when he had been driven to bay, he answered that he could not banish Pole from an Imperial town.

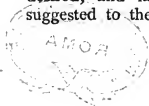
7. In dealing with the Emperor, Isabel had no scruples as to means. She held the person of his son; and took a course that brought him to abandon Pole. She wrote to Manuel and Estrada, urging them to press the matter. Manuel was to work on Max, and on the councillors who surrounded Max. The King of England must, she said, be gratified, and things must happen so that he would owe his peace and happiness to her, and her alone. She warned Estrada of the risk they ran if Pole should fall into the hands of Louis. Louis would make his market of the Prince. To save appearances, they should endeavour to procure a pardon for the Yorkist Prince. At every interview, Estrada should inform the King how heartily she was labouring in his cause, and every one about the King should be impressed with an idea that no other hand than hers could bring the Emperor to terms. Max quailed before advice so thinly veiled as hardly to conceal the threat. He urged his cousin to submit; and Henry soon became aware what sort of magic Isabel had used in the Imperial court. "One of the most special causes" why he yielded, said the Emperor, "was for the sure conveying of his son from Spain."

CHAPTER VI.

The Royal Widower.

1503.

I. WHILE Henry kept his room in grief, his council, busy with the question of his dynasty, were searching in and out among the courts of Europe for a lady worthy to become the mother of a race of English kings. They dared not waste a year in mourning for the dead. The King was growing old; his health was giving way; his eldest and his youngest sons were dead. He had no brothers and no nephews to replace these sons. No more than one male life, and that of one too young for wedlock, stood between the crown and chaos. At an early time, the councillors thought, the King must be implored to choose another bride, and every lady whom a King of England might select to share his throne became an object of their care. They looked through every court, from Stockholm to Naples. Fox knew Henry well enough to see how much their choice was governed by his tastes. Youth first, and beauty next, then royal birth, and after these a goodly portion, were the things to be desired; and lacking which no woman could be suggested to the royal mourner as a future queen.



Not many ladies then alive had youth, beauty, birth, and money, in the full degree.

2. While they were looking here and there, some unknown agent dropped a hint to Puebla that the widowed King might be induced to marry Catharine, if her hand were offered to him on the part of Spain. A woman young and comely, born of royal race, and pensioned as became her station, she had every quality of birth and person which the council were employed in seeking through the world.

3. Who dropped these hints in Puebla's ear? With what intentions were they dropped? These questions find an answer in the facts. The man who dropped these hints could not have been the King; for Henry was secluded in a mourning-room, in which he would not see a soul beyond his children and confessor. Puebla had no access to that mourning-room. Nor could he have been a councillor of rank, like either Fox or Warham. Puebla had no charge of Catharine's hand. Estrada was at Durham House, and was the only man to whom a councillor could have spoken; and Estrada never heard of these proposals till he found them in his letters out of Spain. If any councillor had talked to Puebla, Puebla would have named him to the Queen; for he was eager to undo Estrada; and his only means of injuring him were proofs of his superior influence at the court. Yet hints of such a marriage may have dropped from some low agent of the cloister and the street. We know where Puebla lived; we know what company he kept.



Among his daily mates, it would be easy for a man in office to select a fitting agent for his purposes. What were his purposes? If the intentions were to draw the Queen into a trap, and put an obstacle in Estrada's way, the means employed were well adapted to the ends in view, and those who used them had a rare success.

4. The parties who were fighting in the council had a firm conviction that the Queen of Spain would not engage her daughter to an aged prince who had a son alive to wear his crown. In such a match, her daughter would become a secondary queen; male children of that daughter would be younger sons. A little while she might be queen in name, and then her reign would close, her state would pass away, and she would fade from public sight into the luxury of a country-house. What power would such a woman have to rule events, to send out fleets, to govern treaties, to dispose of princes, and to marshal armies in the field? No more than abbesses of Dartford and St. Mary's. But if Catharine had no power to guide events, the object of her going into England would be lost for Spain. This power was all in all to Isabel. She needed Catharine on the English throne, and Catharine's children on the English throne. What she had done in Lisbon, she desired to do in London, and her purposes could only be accomplished if the English crown descended to an Anglo-Spanish prince. The men who stood against her, and against the Duke her agent, would be sure beforehand that the Queen would listen to no hints for

marrying Catharine to the King. Yet, in the form of her refusal she might place a weapon in their hands. A mother, she was likely, in her first surprise, to start and storm. Suppose she were to flush with holy rage, forget Estrada's mission, and assume a tone of outraged virtue? She was likely, in her pious scorn, to overlook the fact that such a union might appear in neutral eyes the counterpart of that projected by herself.

5. If Warham caused this trap to be prepared for Isabel, he must have smiled to see how soon she fell into his toils. The cripple's note was barely in her hands at Alcala before she snatched a pen, and wrote a long and furious answer, charging Puebla with neglect in not preventing such a thing, and urging him to use his utmost industry and skill to set the matter right. All day, and all next day, she raged and wrote in the Archbishop's palace to Estrada. Two of her most secret cyphers were employed, and these two cyphers were so closely mixed that not a single passage could be read except by one who had the double set of keys. "This project of a marriage of the King of England with the Princess of Wales, our daughter," she exclaimed, "is an abomination of the lowest kind. So vile a thing was never seen! So gross a word offends our ears. No, not for all the world would we consent." Again she wrote: "If any word of such a thing be dropped to you, make answer that the thing can never be; that we will not endure it; nay, that we will never hear of such a thing." She saw the consequences of debating such a ques-

tion. "Why!" she added, "if this notion gets abroad, it will prevent the treaty for a union of our daughter with the Prince of Wales." A dozen times she dwelt on this idea. "If the King of England wants another wife, we can assist him in his choice. There is a lady of our family who would suit him well: our niece, the Queen of Naples; who is young, rich, lovely, and would console him for his recent loss. If he would marry her, the union of our kingdoms would be strengthened by the fact. Inquire if he is willing, and prepare conditions for the match; but keep your counsels very close, and let no man suspect that you are moving in this great affair." Of Catharine, she concluded, Henry must "never be allowed to dream."

6. Yet Isabel's canons and confessors could have told her, that the thing which seemed so startling in the one proposal had its double in the other. To her daughter Catharine, both the Henries stood within the first degree; one law of Scripture ruled them out. Since she had made no contract with the youth, she was as free to marry with the King as with the Prince; as free, but not one jot more free; and Puebla's "hints," whoever dropped them in his ear, had the effect of stripping every vestige of illusion from the Spanish scheme.

CHAPTER VII.

Waiting for Events.

1503.

1. WHILE waiting for Gonsalvo's guns to speak, Estrada was commanded and entreated to be quicker in his work. "You shall contrive by all the ways and means within your reach to get the betrothal of the Prince and Princess settled," she enjoined him. "After you have had an audience of the King, and offered him consolation on our part, you must set about your special business, that of getting Catharine lawfully contracted to the Prince of Wales." Estrada was to try once more the comedy of a flight to Spain; to say he would depart, to charter ships, to put his household stuff on board. "You must say what dishonour would be done to the Princess and to us, if she, being a woman and our child, should have to stay waiting in England, and made to appear as if she were waiting and wishing for the said marriage. Therefore, we command you by all ways and means that you can use to endeavour to have the actual betrothal concluded without delay."

2. Pedro de Avila, one of Isabel's fleetest couriers, started from Alcala with these reproaches and commands, took ship, and racing at his utmost

speed arrived at Durham House in thirty-two days. He brought two legal documents to London; one a joint opinion of the doctors of Salamanca, that even if the marriage articles said nothing of a restitution of dowry, and even if the laws of England said that restitution could not be demanded; yet as the imperial law and canon law held otherwise, the English King was bound to repay the hundred thousand crowns, and to deliver into Catharine's hands the rents and manors settled on her by the Prince of Wales. The second paper was a copy of Dr. Angulo's opinion in the same premises. Angulo was not so clear as the Salamanca jurists. While asserting that the law provided for repayment of the dowry, he admitted three exceptions to his rule; one of which was that no restitution could be demanded in a case "where the custom of the country gave a woman's marriage-portion to her husband." Isabel's agent fell to work, by calling on the King to speak his mind, by chartering ships to carry Catharine back, and pressing the unwilling councillors to yield. The King was close as ever, though Estrada saw that in his heart he was against the match. The councillors met him with divided smiles and shrugs. The Queen of Spain had shown her power to work on Max in the affair of Pole; but happily for them, the time in which she could have used that power with full effect was gone. Philip was quitting Spain.

3. Philip had gone to Spain expecting much. Beyond a recognition of his wife's succession to the several crowns, he wanted titles, power, and money

for himself. At first he had been charmed with every one he met. His wife was popular, and every town through which they passed ran wild with joy. But from the day on which he met Juana's parents he began to sink. He feared the King, whose cold, metallic smile he felt in every vein; he vexed the Queen, whose court of monks and priests he could not bear. Fernando hated him on many grounds, and though Fernando was an artist in deceit, his loathing and contempt for Philip were too strong to hide. If Isabel were to die, Juana would be queen, with Philip as king-consort of Castille. Castille was Spain. Fernando would be simply King of Aragon and Duke of Athens. In his actual power he would be hardly greater than a king of Portugal or a king of Scots. If Philip had been soft and yielding, ready to confide in him, Fernando might have left the laws to take their course. But Philip was not pliant. Young and vain, he thought himself the wisest man on earth. He asked to be associated in the royal office. He demanded money, and would take no answer but the sum for which he asked. In presence of this silly lad, and an adoring wife who could not say him nay, Fernando saw no way to save himself when Isabel should be gone to her account than by depriving Philip's consort of her regal powers. To carry out this scheme, he was obliged to seek from Isabel, not only her assent, but her express approval and her personal help. She was the Queen; without her nothing could be done. Juana was her daughter, and Fernando could not smite his child excepting by her mother's hand.

That mother gave him every aid. Her mind had been prepared by the Dominican fathers for the deed she was about to do; a deed which has few parallels in the history of royal crime. Their plot against their child exceeds in infamy the plot by which her niece, the first unfortunate Juana, had been outraged and dethroned.

4. A Cortes had been summoned to Toledo, where Juana and her lord were publicly received and recognised as future queen and king. In private other things had been discussed. A case was put before some managers of the Cortes whom the Queen could trust. Suppose, when Isabel died, Juana should be either absent from Spain, or should wish to leave the country soon; suppose, again, when Isabel died, Juana should be either unwilling or unable to assume the government; what should be done? They could not leave the state without a head. These managers were moved to beg their Queen, as though they had themselves perceived the coming evil, to arrest a great calamity by naming, while she lived and ruled, the King, her husband, Regent of the kingdom, after she was gone. How far these managers were inclined to meet her views can only be inferred. Before the King's affair could be arranged, the Cortes had to be adjourned from the liberal capital to the hunting palace at Madrid, and from the hunting palace at Madrid to the monkish cloisters at Alcala. Philip began to think his personal safety touched. He spoke of going home to Ghent. They tried to keep him back, by working on his fears. The time, they

urged, was winter, and the mountains lay in snow. All roads were bad in Spain, and in the Pyrenees the very tracks were lost. His wife was delicate, unfit to travel, and unable to escape the duties of her rank. To all entreaties he was deaf. Road or no road, wife or no wife, he would go, and go without delay. But would he face the winter tempests? No; he would return by land. But Spain was then at war with France, and going home by land meant going home through France. But Philip had no fear. He thought captivity in France as good as what he had to dread in Spain. He felt they were detaining him, and fancied they would lodge him in some lonely fortress like their Castle of the Mount. At last he broke away, and put his mother-in-law's daring to the test. She shrank from using force; he passed the frontier; and her means of acting on the English court through Max and Pole was gone.

5. Louis had the prudence to receive the Archduke with a royal welcome. He proposed to bring about a peace between the kings of France and Spain. Fernando, fearing he would do some mischief, sent Fray Bernard Boyl to watch him and to keep him straight. A limited power to treat with Louis had been given to Philip, as a curb on his desire to sign a separate treaty; but the paper had been framed with so much cunning that Fernando was at liberty to accept and to refuse at will whatever he might do. With Boyl beside him, Philip might be kept from doing harm. But Philip was no prince to ask a monk's advice. At Lyons, where

the King of France was holding court, he found himself the object of a thousand flatteries. The ladies stole his heart, the princes turned his head. Between a banquet and a ball, the articles of a treaty were arranged. Don Carlos was to marry Madame Claude. The rights of Spain and France in Naples were to fall on Karl and Claude, who were to take the names of King and Queen. Until the children came of age, that treaty of Granada which Nemours had broken was to be observed. Fernando was excluded from a soil on which the princes of his house had reigned for nearly seventy years. Gonsalvo was forgotten in this paper peace. But while these allies had been signing notes and marrying babes, Fernando had been hiring ships and arming men. On hearing news of a convention which displaced him in a kingdom that was half his own, he gave an order for his fleets to sail.

6. Not often have the clouds of policy been rent and cleared so briskly as they were in the campaign which made Fernando master of Naples. Three weeks after Philip had signed the treaty of Lyons, Gonsalvo, who had now received supplies of men and cannon, marched from his entrenchments at Barletta, crossed the river Ofanto and the plain of Canne, and encamped his men before the town of Cerignola. All the neighbouring towns were in the hands of Nemours, who was in the field with forces equal to his own. Gonsalvo crouched among the vineyards as the French came up. One hour of day was hardly left; but Nemours ordered an attack; and ere the sun went down Nemours was

killed, the French were beaten, and the crown was won. Gonsalvo pushed on rapidly to Benevento, where he sent a herald to the capital, calling on that city to surrender. At Acana he received the keys. Next day he entered Naples, and destroyed the forts to which the French had fled. A castle here and there held out, but all the southern part of Naples was in Spanish keeping, and Fernando could dictate his terms of peace.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Council.

1503.

1. "PUSH the betrothal forward; use your utmost eloquence to get it finished; suffer no delay; but do and say whatever in your judgment will assist you," Isabel had written to her minister at Durham House. "Take care that no delays occur; let the matter be arranged at once." Estrada went to Richmond, where the King was still in mourning for his wife and son, and having gained an audience, urged his message in a tone that could not be denied. A choice of evils lay before the King: to either brave the victors of Cerignola and prepare to fight them, or seem to entertain their offers and refer them to his council for advice. His mind was clear, his purpose fixed. His son, he thought, could never marry Catharine lawfully; and while he reigned, his son should never marry her at all. In time, Fernando came to see that this had always been his firm resolve; but he was not a man who wrote his secrets on his hat for every one to spell. A prince, he had to think of many things which lawyers would not take into account. He had to think of Pole and Max, Gonsalvo and Fernando. Being fixed in purpose, he was free to follow

almost any path his council might suggest in order to avoid the match.

2. Warham, his Chancellor, Fox, his Privy Seal, and Barons, his Master of the Rolls, were all at Richmond near the King. A council was convened, which met in what was then a new and stately palace by the water side. The question laid before them was, in substance, whether he should break with Spain, involve the land in war, provoke disorder in the Yorkist shires, and put his crown and life in jeopardy, by saying what he would and would not do—at once; or, whether he should play a waiting game, receive Estrada on a friendly footing, seem to entertain his offers, and suggest objections on the ground of principle, so that the matter would have to be laid before a board of priests and proctors, who might wrangle on the case for years? If they should take this second view the whole affair might end in an appeal to Rome.

3. The laws of marriage were so vague, so foreign, and so general, that a clever lawyer might propose a riddle to a board of learned men which fifty years of study would not solve. No marriage laws were on the statute-books. An ancient custom of the land described the man and wife as baron and feme—the lord and his woman; but since England had received the gospel, she had put herself, in what concerned her spiritual life, so fully under Church control, that she had never dreamt of making laws to regulate a sacrament of that Church. Hence, everything depended on the canon law; a foreign law, drawn up by strangers, in a language

dead and gone. That law was based on what is written in the word of God; but many clauses had been added to the sacred text. The circle of affinities had been much enlarged. In Scripture the affinities are of the natural kind; in the additions they are mainly of the spiritual kind. Degrees of consanguinity had been multiplied; degrees of affinity had been also multiplied. Affinity had been lifted from the natural order to the spiritual order. If a man had promised a woman by word of mouth to marry her, he could not lawfully wed another, save by dispensation from the Pope; and if a man had been sponsor to a child, he could not lawfully wed the female sponsor, save by dispensation from the Pope. No man could lawfully wed the godmother of his child, except by dispensation from the Pope. The number of prohibited marriages had become so vast that no one dared to fall in love with any woman, save on the consent of his confessor, lest he should stumble into mortal sin.

4. The council were divided. Those who saw the question in the light of Christian law were of opinion that Estrada's offers ought to be declined; while those who saw it in the light of public policy were of opinion that they ought to be received. Warham held the first opinion, Fox the second. Warham was the better lawyer, Fox the craftier statesman. Few, if any, of their colleagues took so sharp a line. Soldiers, like Surrey and Daubeney, would be guided by events abroad; and councillors, like King and Somerset, by events at home. On every side a prudent course seemed wise. Though

Warham would have stopped the case at once, there being, according to his view, no question to debate, more worldly councillors thought the point should be discussed, since they were dealing with the offers of a wise and mighty prince.

5. A cautious course was more to Henry's mind. No harm could spring from giving to the offers of a friendly state a full and serious hearing. When the King had shown a fair desire to weigh them, his rejection of the Spanish offers would be less offensive in the eyes of Spain. To him, the form was nothing if the end were gained. As soon, therefore, as news arrived in London that Gonsalvo was afield, that Nemours was killed, and that the Spaniards were completely masters in the south, Commissioners were named to hear Estrada's offers, to reduce them into proper shape, and put them into English dress. Warham, Fox, and Barons were appointed on the part of England, while Estrada sat alone for Spain.

CHAPTER IX.

Articles.

1503.

1. No sooner were the three English priests and the Spanish grandee seated round the board at Richmond than the question of affinity arose. Some questions lay in store for laymen and diplomatists to handle. How much money would the Princess have? How far would Spain forego her claims to restitution of the former dowry? What security would she give for the fulfilment of her contract? Was the Princess ready to renounce her previous settlements, accepting others in their stead? Was Spain prepared to guarantee the right of Catharine and her offspring to the Crown, according to her claims of birth? These subjects would require to be debated in their season, but the topic of the moment was the question of impediments in blood. Estrada learned, without surprise, that this impediment of blood had raised a Case of Conscience, and a Case of Conscience which could only be resolved by an appeal to Rome.

2. The facts were but too plain. A widow was proposed to Henry, Prince of Wales. That widow was his sister-in-law. A sister-in-law stands within the first degree of affinity. Marriages of men and

women standing in this relation are prohibited by Holy Writ. How could the Spaniards overcome this bar? Estrada had been told to say the Pope would grant a dispensation from the penalties incurred. There would be sin; there would be penalties of sin; so far all priests and lawyers were agreed. To marry was for Henry and for Catharine equally an act of sin. Could Rome dispense alike in earth and heaven of all the penalties incurred by their offence? Estrada said so; but Estrada was no jurist. Fox contended that the Pope had power to deal with such a case; and if a Papal bull were got, a marriage such as that proposed would stand. Warham contended that a pontiff had no power to grant a dispensation from the penalties incurred by such a sin. Nor could he think the Pope would suffer such a question to be argued in his courts.

3. The King's opinion was with Warham rather than with Fox. He, too, considered that a union like the one proposed would be unlawful, and the children tainted in their birth; but he was bound to meet these offers from Toledo as a ruler, not a priest. An insult to the Queen of Spain was war; not only on a foreign soil and in a distant sea, but in his western shires and in his channel ports. A loan of men and money to the fugitive at Aachen would enable Pole to move. In ten weeks half the English counties might be in a blaze. If he would spare his realm, he must have time; yet time was what Estrada was instructed not to grant. How could he circumvent the Queen? Could he employ the Lady Excellenta for this purpose? He was well

aware how much that lady counted in all movements of the Spanish King and Queen. Though he had never dreamt of starting her as a pretender to their throne, he had no reason to refrain from hinting in the court of Isabel that other rulers than herself might play the dangerous game that she was playing with his rival Pole. An instrument lay at hand. One Pietro Guerra, an Italian, who could parley French and Spanish, was at court; a tall and fussy person, not to be employed in serious things, but just the man to play a feigning game. Guerra went to Spain, with orders to appear at court, and talk of having a commission to the Nun. But the affair was far too grave for Henry to rely on such an agent. How could he escape from the immediate pressure put on him by Isabel in her hour of victory? Suppose he met her offers with a plea of conscience, and proposed to lay the question of legality before the Pope? A woman called the Catholic could hardly venture to decline so fair a challenge, and from what he knew of Papal courts he thought the notaries and canonists would be in no great hurry to decide a royal cause. Delay was what he wanted, and delay would come of an appeal to Rome.

4. In offering to refer the question, he assumed that he was running no great risk; for if his Chancellor and his Master of the Rolls were right in their interpretation of the law, no court could issue breve and bull to cover the attested facts. A Pope, according to the English view, could set aside decrees and canons of the Church, but nothing in his

spiritual offices allowed him to suspend the law of God. In matters where the Church had laid down general rules, a Pope might claim the right to modify and even to suspend these rules. To wit; the Church had made a rule that children under fifteen years of age could not contract a lawful union—save by dispensation from the Pope. The Church had made a rule that if a male and female, not of kin, should stand as gossips to a child, they could not afterwards contract a lawful union—save by dispensation from the Pope. The Church had made a rule, that if a male and female of the legal age and free to marry, pledged each other's troth, they could not form another union—save by dispensation from the Pope. Such rules were of the Church, but not of God; and over all such rules the pontiffs were supposed to hold a full dispensing power. But with the plain commands of Holy Writ, forbidding marriage in the first degree, no pope, no court, no college, could dispense; and this opinion of his lawyers, Henry felt assured that every court in Rome would steadfastly uphold.

5. The English priests and Spanish duke agreed in principle on making an Appeal to Rome. Their next step was to frame the articles on which the parties would appeal. But this was not an easy step to take; for neither party in the matter could accept the other party's facts. In framing any draft whatever, Henry felt he would be led some paces down a road he had no wish to tread. A case implies a contract, and the parties could not go before his Holiness with what would seem to be a

spurious suit. How could he make his fiction look like truth? A form of contract must be written out; a contract for the marriage of his son to Catharine; and the pleas would have to be presented in his name and argued by his envoys at the papal court. Let him reject the Spanish offers as he might in secret, he must seem to own them in his public acts. But where so much was to be gained by time, a little might be risked in present fame. The end would prove him right. His lawyers told him that the Pope was certain to reject the suit, however strongly pressed, as soon as he had heard a statement of the facts. These facts were clear enough, and Warham was resolved that Rome, as well as Spain and England, should not blink the truth.

6. A form was therefore drafted by the three English commissioners and submitted to the Spanish duke for his adoption. After stating that the King and Queen of Spain on one side, and the King of England on the other side, agreed to move the Pontiff for a bull, enabling Princess Catharine to marry Henry, Prince of Wales, the foremost article set forth in words, that such a dispensation from his Holiness was necessary to a true and lawful marriage of the Spanish Princess and the English Prince:

1. Because the said Princess Catharine had formerly contracted marriage with Arthur, elder brother of the present Prince of Wales.

2. Because by such contract of marriage, she

had become related to Henry, Prince of Wales, in the first degree.

3. Because her marriage with Prince Arthur had been duly solemnized, according to the rites prescribed by holy Church, and afterwards been consummated as the canon law required.

Warham insisted on this form, because he thought so plain a statement of this case must lead to its rejection by the court of Rome, even if it were not first rejected on account of certain other articles by the court of Spain. These other articles were framed in such a way as to provoke the jealousy of Isabel. They were all in favour of the English King. He was not asked to bind himself to carry out the treaty, even if the dispensation should be given. He was left at liberty to either ratify or reject the articles. The claim to restitution was abandoned. Catharine was to yield her previous settlement; and her succession to the crown of Spain was to be guaranteed. Until the dispensation had been got, and he had ratified the articles, nothing was expected from him. When that dispensation had been published, and those articles had been ratified, he was to promise that his son should promise; but his son was under age, and could not give a binding pledge. In short, the articles were so arranged in form that he was practically free, while they contained in substance matters which his wisest councillors thought must lead to their rejection both in Spain and Rome.

BOOK THE TENTH.

APPEAL TO ROME.

CHAPTER I.

Segovia.

1503.

1. THOSE councillors who hoped the articles would be denounced by Spain were quickly undeceived. As soon as copies of the draft were made, a messenger set out for Spain. The King and Queen were living far apart, as usual in their later years; Fernando in Barcelona, busy with his ships and troops; Isabel in Segovia, busy with her doctors and inquisitors. Some days were needed for communication, even in the height of summer, and a joint assent could not be given for many weeks. But no one dreamt of a renunciation of the articles. Fernando grumbled at the terms. The English King, he said, had got the better of him; but he signed and swore the articles as they were drawn. "You are to let the King, our brother, know," he wrote, "that we have signed these articles out of the great love we bear him." Isabel was

quicker in assent and in assumption. "God be thanked, the marriage is concluded," she exclaimed; "this news has filled us with the greatest joy." Estrada was in favour at Segovia. "You have done this business well; the terms are hard; the King, our brother, might have been more liberal; but your reasons for assenting to his terms were sound ones. Tell the King with what a hearty will we send him back the draft." She added: "Get the King to ratify the draft, and send a copy, signed with his name, and sealed with his seal; send it at once, and tell us all that you have done."

2. But if the Queen were warmer in her words, the King, her husband, had been quicker in his acts. Fernando had not waited till the articles were approved. He had not paused until his consort had perused the draft. A month before he signed the articles he had sent a long and pressing note to Rome, requiring his ambassador at the Vatican to wait upon the Pope without delay. This envoy at the Roman court was Francisco de Rojas, Count de Salinas, and a Captain-General of his kingdom. Rojas was the man to carry such a suit. He was the father of Maria, Catharine's favourite maid of honour, whom the Princess was engaged in trying to unite in marriage to a wealthy English peer. This envoy was to seek an audience of the Pope, and under cover of Gonsalvo's recent victories, to ask him for a bull permitting Catharine to espouse the Prince of Wales.

3. Isabel felt so happy that she could be liberal in reward. "You are to let the King of England

see how much we love him," she ran on in rapture to Estrada, "and the English citizens find how much we think of them, by handing in the document here annexed." This document was, in truth, a precious gift, and Isabel meant it as a clinching bribe. In eighteen years of peace, the English trade with Spain had much increased. Not long ago, the intercourse of London with Vigo, Cadiz, and Valencia, had depended on the coming in, and going out, of the Venetian fleets, which made the voyage from Lido to Sandwich in about seven months, calling at the greater Spanish ports, and carrying, on account of Spanish merchants, cargoes of leather, raisins, oil, and wine, which they could readily exchange in Sandwich and Southampton for their worth in woollen, brass, and tin. These fleets came once a-year, and made a sort of annual fair. But time was changing the conditions of this trade. By granting licenses to bring in wine and take out wool, the King, according to his lights, was fostering intercourse with foreign ports. A merchant rarely came to him in vain. One day he gave a license to Francisco de Lerma, of the Burgos guild of traders, to export English wool for a period of five years. Another day, he heard that Juan Martin, a Spanish skipper, who had been delayed in his voyage, dared not load his ship with English cloths, because the other captains had the start, and would exhaust the market. "Let him freight his vessel free of dues," said Henry, "but for this time only." Isabel's gift to England was a general license. English subjects were allowed to trade with Spain;

to enter any port; to buy and sell in open market. They were put on level ground with Spanish traders, and were subject to no rules and rates, excepting such as were applied to every one in Spain. "You are to speak to Henry," she concluded, "in the words best suited to impress his mind, and bring him over to our side. Do anything you can to make him love and help us. You must understand that your first duty is to get the King to side with us against the King of France."

4. A second letter to Estrada, dated from her palace of Segovia, written on the self-same day, but sent by later messengers, and carried in a different ship, unveiled her motive for this haste. She wanted help. In Lower Italy, indeed, Gonsalvo held his own; but from the Garigliano to the Alps the French were still entrenched. A powerful army lay near Rome. A powerful fleet was lying off the mole at Gaeta. The Pope was aiding France. An accomplished soldier, Mantua, was in chief command. Even while Gonsalvo held his own, he found the strain on his resources very great. Spain was still no match for France. But, not content with pouring troops across the Alps, Louis was gathering forces in the plains of Gascoigne and of Languedoc. Louis seemed bent on opening two safe passages through the Pyrenees; one passage by the gorge of Irun, and a second through the town of Perpignan. Alain d'Albret was to lead one corps across the Bidassoa, and surprise the rock of Fontarabia. Maréchal de Rieux was to advance from Languedoc, and after taking Salsas to ascend the Catalan heights.

Already Salsas had been summoned to surrender. Salsas had a feeble garrison, and having passed so many times from Spain to France, from France again to Spain, was hardly to be trusted for heroic efforts of defence. Some succours had been sent across the mountains, but the roads were bad, the distances were great. Before her troops could cross the Pyrenees, the troops of Louis might have entered Spain.

5. "You are to let the King of England know our strait," she wrote. "The King is bound to aid us; but we do not wish to force him now. The French have come into our states; they are encamped in front of Salsas; and we wish the King to hear what they have done. You are to let him see our need, and, if you find him well disposed, to beg that he will help us with his utmost power. Our want is fighting men. Get the best men, the best officers, the best guns. Two thousand men should be despatched to Fontarabia. Make haste; to be of use they must be quickly here. Two thousand; not one trooper less; and see that they embark at once."

6. She wrote in natural dread of Alain d'Albret. Should he capture Fontarabia, he could throw his armies freely into Spain. Navarre, of which his son was king, might be induced to join in his attack. But how was she to pay these English fighting men? Aware that Henry would not send a man to Fontarabia till his pay was sure, she told Estrada to inform the King that he had every penny of their wages in his hands. But Isabel was not sure that

Henry could be fooled by such a trick. He might require to see the money; and her envoy's credit with the bankers was not good enough for him to borrow such a sum. She thought of Catharine's plate. Her needs were pressing, and the means of raising money were in sight. Without considering how so bad a business would re-act on Catharine, she required the Duke, in case he had to show the money, to request her daughter, the Princess of Wales, to pawn as many of her cups and jewels as would cover the amount. This business would require much tact. Those cups and jewels were not Catharine's. They were portions of her dowry, left with her for household use, but not for either sale or pledge. The King was to be cheated, and the Princess made an instrument in the cheat. Would Catharine lend herself to such a scheme? Strong pressure was, if necessary, to be put on her. "Tell her," said Isabel, "it is of moment; of the highest moment; both to us and her. It is the greatest thing we ever had to do, or ever dreamt that we could have to do. It touches us; it touches her; it touches the succession to our crown." A line was added for the Duke himself. "Haste, haste! Write, write! Send off the troops, and let us hear by several messengers and different routes what you have done."

CHAPTER II.

Borgia.

1503.

I. THE Pope whom Rojas was to see and ask to judge the English Case of Conscience, was that Rodrigo Lentzuoli, who had dropped his father's name for that of Borja, which, in the Italian form of Borgia, he and his satanic offspring were to render infamous throughout all coming time. Valentian born, Rodrigo was a subject of the King of Aragon. Crafty, eloquent, unscrupulous, he had fought his way to wealth, and having filled his chests, had made his wealth a stepping-stone to rank and power. Borgia had bought the Papal chair, which he ascended in the name of Alexander the Sixth. When he had bought the Vatican, he had put up every spiritual gift and office in his hands and under his control for sale. On any other Pope his treatment of the Orsini family would have left a lasting brand. He broke and plundered these Orsinis for the benefit of his children by Signora Vanozia, a married woman, whom he kept as mistress; but with Borgia these offences were concealed beneath an Alp of greater crimes. A natural foe of learning and of learned men, he put the printing-presses under censure, and burnt the great Dominican

preacher, Fra Girolamo Savonarola. He enlisted poisoners and swordsmen in his service, and he filled his galleries at the Vatican with harlots, sorcerers, and bravos, who were ready to inflame his passions and obey his will. To rob the rich, and trample on the poor, afforded him an almost equal joy. To live a life of open shame, to bring discredit on the name of Pope, to make a mockery of holy things, and rouse the better feelings of mankind against the Church, so that the Papacy might perish when he died, amidst the rage and scorn of an indignant world, would seem to have been the course laid down by this satanic priest.

2. Borgia had raised his sons, whom he had not the decency to call his nephews, to the highest rank. One boy he had made a cardinal, another he had caused to be made a duke. These boys were worthy of their sire. Except the Pope himself, Cesare Borgia had committed more and darker crimes than any other man alive. The Pontiff's daughter matched his son. The deeds alleged against Lucrezia Borgia—murder, incest, fratricide—have placed her on the loftiest eminence of crime. Yet this satanic race had prospered in the world. All Central Italy was at their feet; her princes slain, her towns surprised, her shrines polluted, and her charters rent. What cared these strangers in the country that the French were rioting in the north, the Spaniards in the south? No love of Italy warmed their hearts. They turned from Spain to France, from France to Spain, as victory flew from flag to flag. One son had married a connexion of the family of Aragon, the

other a connexion of the family of France. They were prepared to win with either side; but they were bent on having Central Italy for the Borgias. They had gained the Roman States, Pesaro, Rimini, Faenzi, and Urbino. They had forced Bologna into truce, and threatened Florence with assault. From every side the Pope was scraping money; gathering it by fines, by tithes, by confiscations, and by open robberies of the Church. One source of income was the sale of scraps of paper, giving those who purchased them a license to indulge in sin. If Borgia had not been the first to grant these licenses, he was the first to stamp them, as it were, with an official die, and offer them for sale in open marketplace and country fair. The money raked by fine and tithe, by sale and confiscation, was to be employed by him in setting up a temporal king and kingdom on the ruins of his church.

3. By birth and feeling Borgia was inclined to serve the King and Queen of Spain. Fernando knew the scandals of his life, and though he was himself no saint, he watched with some uneasiness the conduct of his liegeman in the papal-chair. But their relations had been very close. Borgia had been implicated in the forged decree on which Isabel's marriage in Valladolid took place. Borgia was then a cardinal, a bishop, a vice-chancellor of the Roman court. His cunning brain and ready tongue had cleared the obstacles from Fernando's path, and after his success, Fernando had been grateful to a priest on whose venality he could count for services to come. He made the Pontiff's eldest son, Gio-

vanni, a duke and grandee of the first class in Aragon, and gave the youth in marriage to a natural daughter of his nephew, Alfonzo, King of Naples. But he had made the Pontiff pay as priest for everything that he had done as prince. The King and Queen had wrested from the Pope a portion of his Spanish tithe; had forced him to appoint no less than eighteen Spanish cardinals; had told him to be silent while they ravaged Naples; and had coaxed him to confer on them two seas and continents. In order to prepare the world for universal empire, they had asked from him the style of Catholic King and Catholic Queen. They knew the Pontiff and his aims, and while Gonsalvo was victorious in the field, they were secure of Rojas being heard in Rome.

4. The Tudor prince had no such grounds for confidence in the Pontiff. Borgia and Henry were not friends as priest and penitent should be friends. Although devoted to his church, and ready to obey her pastor, Henry could not close his eyes and stop his ears. The secrets of the Vatican were kept by trusty chamberlains, yet the abominations of that house of sin were such as papal chamberlains could not hide. When Giovanni, murdered in the street, was flung into the Tiber, every man in Rome became a witness of the crime and a suspecter of the criminal. When Cesare plunged his knife into Perotot's heart, and splashed his blood into the Pontiff's face, a hundred cardinals, priests, and servants, were acquainted with his deed. Nor were the cardinals all silenced. Giuliano della Rovere, a Roman

of the antique mould, who had been driven from Rome by Borgia, was in Paris, calling on the French to cross the Alps, to save his country and depose the wicked Pope. This Cardinal had the means of learning and reporting the flagitious news from Rome. In the Republic of St. Mark, the papal family had also to encounter foes, who could be silent when they pleased, and noisy when they pleased. In every court, in almost every cloister of the empire, there were stories of the wicked Pope and his congenial son. And while the church was outraged, she was also robbed. Along with these reports of simony and bloodshed in the papal palace, came a loud and constant cry from Rome for money, mitres, priories, and stalls. A cardinal might fail, an embassy might come and go, but the demand for gold and benefices never ceased. A cardinal asked for bishoprics, not only for himself but for his nephews and for his connexions in the tenth degree. Borgia had sent his agents into England with indulgences for sale, and orders to collect a fund for the expenses of a holy war. But Henry had been slow to back his suit, and Borgia's spoil had not been reaped on English ground.

5. With clearer mind than either Louis or Fernando, Henry had held aloof from Borgia and his race. Fernando had given his son, Giovanni, the Valentian dukedom of Gandia, and had married him to his nephew's natural daughter. Louis had given his son, Cesare, the Gascon dukedom of Valentinois, and had married him to a sister of Jean d'Albret, King-consort of Navarre. Henry had

bestowed no title, benefice, or money, on this papal house. On the other side, he had interfered, and made his Chancellor interfere, to stay the sale of their indulgences. On finding that the money taken from his people went to lacqueys, harlots, and assassins, he had set his face against collecting money for a holy war. The waste and wickedness in Rome had made the King impatient with the guilty priest; thrice guilty in his eyes, as being a man who wore a pious mask, who gathered money on a false pretence, who spent on earthly lusts the shekel given to God.

6. Yet being bound to lay a Case before the papal court, he authorised his councillors to write a formal letter, setting forth the facts, according to the English view, and asking for a statement of the law. He used no pressure, and employed no agencies. The case was simply so and so; and in the face of such a statement, could the Pontiff exercise a full dispensing power?

CHAPTER III.

Cardinals and Popes.

1503.

1. A BOX of comfits eaten by an old man in a garden, answered this Appeal to Rome, and changed the aspects and conditions of his suit. Almost as soon as Rojas had begun to urge his case, the wicked Pope was dead.

2. That Adriano de Castello who had been in England more than once was known to be a wealthy cardinal, with stalls and offices in many countries, every one of which brought money to his chests. Among the many posts which he enjoyed were those of Bishop of Hereford in England, and Director of the Treasury in Rome. A friend of Borgia, he had served the Pontiff well; but he was rich in money and reversions; and the papal family resolved that he must die. Three cardinals—those of Modena, St. Angelo, and Capua—had recently been murdered for their money, and the aged Pope was eager to despoil a fourth. Cesare was at hand to take advantage of the Cardinal's death. When they were ready for the deed, the Pope proposed to Cardinal Adriano that they should sup together in the vineyard of the Belvedere, behind the Vatican. A cardinal could not refuse a pope; but Adriano got some hint of what was coming, and he bribed a servant

to exchange the poisoned meats. Some poisoned wine was also used, but Adriano lived and Alexander died.

3. All Rome was thrown into confusion by that summer evening's work. Cesare, seated at the table, had partaken of the wine, and though his vigorous system cast the poison out, he had to lie in bed for many a day. Long since, when counting on the Pope's decease, Cesare had taken measures to secure the Vatican, to crush his enemies in the city, and appoint a Pope who should be little more than his domestic priest. But everything depended on himself. No man was in his confidence, nor had he confidence in any other man. The French, whose duke he was, regarded him with fear and jealousy. The officers in his camp professed to serve him from no higher motive than the lust of place and pay. At any moment, they were ready to desert him; and at times, these men had left his standard on the chance of finding in a foreign camp a higher wage and richer spoil. If he were clad in mail, he might control these troops, who held the Vatican, the Castle of St. Angelo, and the gates of Rome; but he was sick in bed, disabled by a draft of wine intended for a rival priest. On every side his enemies were up in arms. Orsini and Colonna entered Rome. Savelli marched into his towns. Pesaro, Comerino, and Perugia welcomed back their ancient lords. Venetian fleets and armies were in motion; capturing Faenza, occupying Rimini, and threatening Forli and Imola. A Venetian corps marched into Rome, in order to protect the Sacred College. Even

when Cesare left his bed, he was uncertain how to act. The French were pouring into Italy, accompanied by two great cardinals—George d'Amboise, the crafty, secular, and pacific priest, and Giuliano della Rovere, the martial, frank, and Pagan prince. Amboise and Rovere were each expecting to be chosen Pope. Amboise was only half his friend, and Rovere was his mortal foe. Could he connect himself with Spain? Not yet. In spite of their disaster in the South, the French were masters of the country down to Gaëta. While Gonsalvo's army was obliged to stand on the defensive, Cesare dared not openly embrace the Spanish flag.

4. While he lay still, unnerved, the cardinals met, protected by the Lion of St. Mark, and raised a cry in favour of the Sacred College, as against the Pope. These cardinals were of opinion that a member of that College ought to have more pay, more privilege, more power, and that the future pope should be a servant of the College rather than their lord. Before they chose another pope, they laid down thirty-six conditions, for that pope to swear and keep. A final clause denied beforehand that the pope, whoever should be chosen from their body, had the right, in virtue of his apostolic rank, to vary the conditions he had sworn. It was declared that he was not to vary them on pain of his being damned.

5. The new pope was to share with them the papal wealth, and more than share with them the papal power. No cardinal should be poor. Each member of the Sacred College, whose income from

his cardinal's hat and pastoral staff was less than six thousand golden florins a-year, was to have two hundred florins paid to him from the papal treasury every month. Each cardinal was to retain his benefices of every sort, however many and however lawless they might be. No future pope should be able to touch the person or the property of a cardinal; nor make a change in any of his offices and receipts, unless with the consent of two-thirds of his colleagues. All voting must be taken by the ballot. No future pope should prosecute any cardinal, nor suffer any cardinal to be prosecuted, save on the advice of cardinals elected by each of the three orders. No tax of any kind should be laid on livings held by cardinals; no burden should be laid on any property owned by cardinals. No future pope should be allowed to take a present from a cardinal, not even though the cardinal should offer it of his own free will. A cardinal should have the right to either sell or give away all monasteries, priories, and other ecclesiastical houses depending on him. All former promises and titles granted by the Holy See, so far as these restrained the liberty of cardinals, were to be null and void. If any living held by an officer of the papal court were to become vacant, the pope should not appoint a successor, except with the consent of the cardinal to whose department it belonged. The new pope should confirm every privilege and prerogative which had ever been granted to cardinals by the Holy See.

6. To guarantee these rights and powers, the

Sacred College stipulated that each cardinal was to have a fortified place in the neighbourhood of Rome for his security; that no cardinal should in future be sent from Rome on legantine or other business, save with his entire consent; that no soldiers should stand or walk between the pope and the cardinals; that the governors of the seven Legations should be cardinals; that no privilege conceded to a cardinal should ever be revoked; that all fees paid to the Consistorial Courts should go to the cardinals; that the new pope should pay two hundred gold florins a-month to every cardinal whose revenues should be seized in consequence of the next election by his secular prince; that on the death of each of the next six cardinals, the oldest cardinals should be at liberty to take his bishoprics, his castles, livings, houses, and other properties; and that all the livings in the gift of cardinals which Alexander the Sixth had sold, should be restored to them. Then came some special articles. All church preferments and ecclesiastical offices in Rome were to be held exclusively by citizens of Rome. All cardinals who had been wronged by Borgia were to have their losses made good. All members of the families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli, were to be restored to their dignities and possessions. Finally, it was agreed that the new pope should incur the punishment of eternal malediction and damnation if he broke any of these terms. He should not be allowed to absolve himself, nor should any other person be allowed to absolve him, from the penalties incurred by such a crime.

7. On these conditions Francisco Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, was elected pope. Amboise and Rovere had not been able to agree, and Piccolomini, a cardinal of enormous riches, bought the neutral votes, and took his seat as Pius the Third. Rojas called on him, and asked him for a papal bull. But Pius had no time to judge the English Case. Three weeks after he was crowned he died; men said, of poison; and the Vatican being void again, the Sacred College had to choose another pope.

CHAPTER IV.

Julius the Second.

1503.

1. THE two great cardinals came to terms. Amboise, a younger man by nineteen years than Rovere, agreed to wait. He was but forty-three years old, and popes were seldom chosen at the age of forty-three. His time would come again. Rovere was to be elected Pope, and Amboise was to rule the Vatican. To make the choice more absolute, a reconciliation was effected with the friends of Borgia. Rovere was to be elected Pope, and Cesare Borgia was to be appointed Gonfalonier of the Church. One other party, that of Spain, was still outside. This party had a great command of votes, and Cardinal Carvajal, their leader, was a subtle and unscrupulous priest. While the affair was pending, Rojas went to Rovere, and, after telling him about the Spanish project, and explaining how the Catholic King and Queen desired to have it carried, offered him support in his election, on a pledge that he would grant the papal bull. Rovere, anxious to conciliate the Spaniards, promised him; and with the help of Amboise, Carvajal, and Borgia, Giuliano della Rovere, the antique Roman patriot, was elected Pope.

2. Next day, when Rojas, calling at the Vatican, inquired about the grant, Rovere told him he should

keep his pledge. Rovere had assumed the name of Julius the Second, not from love of Julius the First, pontiff and saint, but that of Julius the First, emperor and sinner. Not being a theologian, hardly, in truth, a Christian, he was not embarrassed in his dealing with this project by considerations for the written law. To him the Case was a political document only. Rojas had been instructed by his master to assure the Pope that two great Kings, his children in the Cross, were parties to a suit before his court, and two great kingdoms waited for his answer with a passionate desire. When he had seen the Pope, he had been told to seek the cardinals, one by one, and press them with the argument that Rome had much to gain by giving him a speedy hearing, and more to lose by causing him delay. He held a power to enter into separate treaties with cardinals, dukes, marquises, and other persons in the Roman States for their support. The ground assumed was purely secular. By way of general argument he had been told to say, "The cause of God and of the Church could only prosper when the hearts of Christian kings were turned to love and peace; yet many Christian princes were at discord with each other. To remedy in some degree this evil Spain and England had agreed to form a league which was to last, not only through their time, but through their children's time. The foremost object of this league was to defend the Holy See against her enemies of every kind." The pleas in favour of the grant were therefore laid on temporal, not on spiritual grounds.

3. Julius was a man to feel the force of such an argument. He nursed no thought of either personal or family fortunes to be wrung by violence from the Church. He had no bastards to enrich. If he was martial and ambitious, he was martial and ambitious for his country rather than himself. He thought of Rome. On every side he saw to what a depth of infamy the city of his heart had sunk. To raise her up, and clothe her with the dignity befitting her renown, became the passion of his life. For years he had been exiled from his native land. That period had been chiefly spent in France, where he had seen and heard too much about the reigning Pope. No part of that vast weight of shame had fallen on him. In truth, his exile had been understood as an appeal from drunken Rome to sober Rome. To end that reign of vice and crime, he would have called down fire from heaven; but seeing that the days of miracles were past, had been content to call in troops from France. These troops had helped to make him Pope, and he was bound to them by many ties; but he was first of all a Roman prince, with duties towards the capital of all Christian men. No sooner was he seated in the papal chair, than he began to work for the recovery of what the recent Pope had stolen from his Church. Although compelled to temporise with Cesare Borgia, who was master of St. Angelo, and of a hundred strongholds in the Papal States, he watched that plotter as a second Satan, whom the wit of man was called to baffle and subdue. To Julius, every one who offered to support the

Roman See was welcome, and the prospect of a league of two great kings, renowned for riches, wisdom, and success, was something for a martial Pope to hail with joy.

4. Yet, looking at the question as a Pagan senator would have looked, the thing required some time. The cardinals must be consulted, and the English envoys must be heard. Even as the Spaniard put his case, the pleas and arguments were strange. A league in favour of the Vatican, said Rojas, had been planned. This league was to be founded on a royal match. This match required the Pope's dispensing power. But Julius was informed that he was asked to use it merely as an act of grace. The English had inserted in the case a statement that Arthur and Catharine had been man and wife; but Rojas told him, privately, that such was not the truth. There was a contract, nothing more. The draft was wrong. The court, he urged, was free; and Julius might decide the case. Foreseeing that this line of argument might lay his envoy open to the answer, "Let the articles be amended, let the truth be stated, let the court be well informed," Fernando had instructed Rojas to present the Case of Conscience as a piece of comedy. "These English are a curious folk," he was to hint; "they cavil over words, they wrangle over points of law, they fight about the shadow of a shade." Long wars had made them jealous of their royal blood, afraid of future contests for the crown. A papal verdict would relieve their fears; but they would only take that verdict in the form set down. No

other phrases than their own would serve, and so the papal bull must say that Catharine was at liberty to wed the brother of her recent lord.

5. Rojas had been told to seek the English envoy at the papal court, and get him, if he could, to join in his request, and even go with him to see the Pope. This English envoy, Robert Sherborne, Dean of St. Paul's, was an acute and able priest, whom Henry had employed in many offices of trust. A private secretary and a privy councillor, he had managed the negotiations for the Holy League, and gathered in the fines and mulcts inflicted on the partisans of York. The King had taken care of him; and he had held successively the rich arch-deaconries of Taunton, Huntingdon, and Bucks; and in addition to his deanery had several prebendary stalls. No man knew better what the King desired. Sherborne had lived among the cardinals and priests; he was himself a priest, who some day might be cardinal; and few men knew so well what might be done in Rome.

6. Sherborne had received no orders from his master to address the Pontiff, either jointly or alone. The King had sent a formal notice of the suit to Rome, but otherwise he showed no sign of wishing to proceed. Estrada had not yet been able to procure from him a copy of the articles, duly ratified. Estrada was to keep the Spanish copies till they were exchanged for English copies; and as Henry had not signed them, nothing of importance had been done. There was a sheet of paper, covered with a form of words, and that was all. The King

had not adopted them, nor could he be persuaded to exchange the copies sent to him from Spain. Estrada pressed him. Isabel had certified the articles without delay; yet months were passing by, and Henry would not sign. According to Estrada, his refusal was a trial and an insult to the Spanish King and Queen; yet Henry put him off from week to week; for while he held his hand in London, nothing to the purpose could be done in Rome.

7. One step, however, had been gained. The Case of Conscience had been opened and referred. Apart from any pledge that had been given to Rojas, Julius, as a man of policy, could not well deny the kings a hearing. To refuse a hearing was to stop the Case before it had been heard. According to the recent compact in the Sacred College, consistorial causes were to be considered by the cardinals, who were entitled to receive the fees. In such a cause the fees were certain to be large. The question, too, was covered and concealed. Rojas said one thing, while the articles said another thing. Experienced men would have to ascertain the truth. Ambassadors would need to certify the facts, and canonists to answer for the guiding rules. In short the matter must be heard. A step was won; the Case was opened; and a victory was scored for Spain.

CHAPTER V.

London and Rome.

1503.

I. DRAWN onward step by step, along a road he had no set wish to go, the King was prudent in his words, and only let his mind be seen when he was forced to act. His acts, indeed, were plain. Six months had passed since Warham and Estrada wrote the articles at Richmond; four months since Fernando sent them out to Rome; and three months since Isabel ratified them in Segovia; yet the Tudor King had neither signed nor sworn them. What was done by him in Rome was merely specious; meant to cause delay and mystify the Spanish envoy. Notice had been sent, in ordinary form, to Alexander and to Julius, that articles had been framed and would be duly laid before the Pontiff. Adriano had been told, when he should have to see the Pope on other business, to acquaint him with the suit, to ask him for a gracious hearing, and to manage so that Rojas might believe him eager and sincere. The shrewd Italian caught the royal hint. To serve so good a prince was well, for Henry could promote him in the English Church, and Adriano was so rich that he was hungering for promotion in that happy English Church.

2. At home, the King allowed his purpose to escape in acts. For many years his leading minister had been Richard Fox. Fox had been with him in his early days, a friend before he was a servant, and the ablest man who helped him to a crown. All sorts of gifts had fallen on the man whom Henry loved. He held three prebendary stalls. In turn, he had been Bishop of Exeter, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop of Durham, Bishop of Winchester. He was governor of Norham Castle, privy councillor, ambassador, royal commissioner, Chancellor of Cambridge, Keeper of the Privy Seal. On Morton's death, it was supposed that Fox would go to Lambeth; and he might have done so, but for Henry's admiration of the talent for affairs displayed by Deane. The great success of Deane in dealing with the Irish question had disposed the King to try him in the marble chair, and as the chancery and primacy had been lately joined, he let them stand together in the case of Deane. Fox seemed secure of the reversion of these great estates; but now a question had arisen in face of which all services and likings of the past would count for nothing. Fox was committed to the match, and with that match would have to stand or fall. In Rome, in Spain, in France, the match was understood to be his work, and if it were to prosper, he would need to occupy the foremost place. But Henry had begun to turn from this great champion of the Spanish cause. When Deane fell sick from over-toil, Warham was named to help him on the Bench. When Deane fell dead in harness, Warham was appointed to succeed

him both in Lambeth Palace and in Westminster Hall.

3. The plot was growing serious. Though the King had neither signed the draft nor asked the Pope to read it, Rojas was proceeding with his utmost speed. He held the Pontiff to his pledge, and urged him by his interest in the future, even more than by his promise in the past, to grant the papal bull. The English and the Spaniards were, he said, the Pontiff's friends; a league of peace between them was a natural bulwark of the Roman See. Who else could put a bridle on Cesare Borgia? By the articles of peace, Rovere's nephew, Francesco, Duke of Urbino, was to have married Cesare's daughter. Cesare was to have been appointed Gonfalonier of the Church, and suffered to retain his towns and castles in the Roman States. Not one of these conditions had been kept; and Cesare, who had never trusted man before, had been embraced, deceived, and plundered by a simple priest. Yet this unscrupulous prince, though hustled out of his commands in Rome, was master of the principal towns, and was supported secretly by Amboise as a useful ally of the French. In fighting him the Pope had need of every ally he could find; and Rojas offered him the best support of Spain. A match of Catharine and the Prince of Wales was represented to him as the only means of joining two great kingdoms in a league for the defence of Holy Church. Why should the Pontiff pause so long?

4. Cesare Borgia, though the first, was not the only enemy the Pontiff had to dread. Venetian cap-

tain, under cover of defending him, were occupying various cities in his States. They had already seized Faenza, occupied Rimini, and raised the Lion of St. Mark at Monte Fiore, Sant Arcangelo, Cesenatico, and other strongholds in the Roman States. They were at war, they said, with Cesare Borgia, who had plundered some of their dependent towns. These friends were worse than open foes. Though summoned to retire, they would not; nay, they threatened to advance on Forli and Imola. Spiritual rights and even secular titles they were ready to admit in Julius; but the right to garrison and govern these dependencies of Rome they would not yield. Who could compel these captains to retire? The Signory might listen to an English prince. The trade with Venice was of value to the workmen of Murano and the traders on the Grand Canal. If Henry could be got to plead in Venice for the Pope, no man could do the Pontiff greater service with the Doge. Assuming that the envoy told the truth, and that the King of England was as eager for this marriage as the King and Queen of Spain, the Pope had promised that the point submitted to his judgment should be heard.

5. The Case of Conscience was referred to two experienced Cardinals of Portugal and Naples, who were slowly hearing it in secret, when the Cardinal of Rouen interposed his word. Amboise was of opinion that the matter should be dropped. It was, he said, a scandal to the Church. No doubt the Cardinal's motives were political. Aware of all that

had been done towards mating Henry, Prince of Wales, with Marguerite of Angoulême, and feeling that an English marriage was the best for France, he heard with jealousy of this Appeal to Rome. He may have known what Warham said and Henry felt. In any case, it was his duty, as a Frenchman, to induce his colleagues to reject the suit. A hint sufficed. His word was law; for Amboise had an army at his back. Yet he was careful not to give offence. Ere long, he might require the Spanish vote. Aware of what was going on, he sent a trusty servant to the Cardinals with a request that they would let the business drop. The Cardinal of Portugal was in feeble health, and feeble health was given as an excuse for putting off the cause.

6. Enraged at these delays in Rome, Fernando told Estrada he must urge the King to take his part in the affair. Henry was doing nothing at the Vatican, and while he held aloof the Pontiff could not be induced to act. To make a show of asking for a judgment, Henry gave an order to his two Italian agents, Adriano and Sylvestro, what to do. These shrewd Italians, having begged an audience of the Pontiff, fixed a day when Rojas was confined by sickness to his house. They sent to ask that envoy's company at the Vatican. Rojas replied that he was ill, but begged the Cardinal and Bishop to engage his Holiness to hasten the affair. Then Adriano and Sylvestro waited on the Pope alone, and asked him whether, as became the common pastor of his flock, he could consent to gratify the Kings of Spain and England in this project of a

marriage for the sake of peace and order in their kingdoms. Julius, in a spirit of benignity, assured them he had placed this grave and weighty business in the hands of two experienced Cardinals. At present, he could do no more. Until the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples had reported, nothing could be done. No warmth was shown by Adriano and Sylvestro, nor was reference made to Amboise either first or last. The Cardinal of Portugal, his Holiness continued, was unwell. His eyes were bad; but he was lodging in the Vatican; the Pope might see him soon, and have the benefit of his advice. When he was well enough the matter might go on.

7. On stepping from the Vatican, Adriano went alone to Rojas and reported his rebuff; reporting it according to his orders, so that Rojas might imagine he was full of zeal. Rojas, although in feeble health, was strong enough to pour into the Cardinal's ear the story of his effort and of his defeat. The Pope, he said, was utterly forsworn. Before the day of his election, he had promised, as the price of Spanish votes, to grant a papal bull the instant he was chosen Pope. The next day after his election, Rojas had called to ask him for the bull, but he had put him off with words, admitting that a pledge had passed between them, but requiring time to draw the necessary form. From day to day his Holiness had put him off. At last the Pope had told him the affair was laid before the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples. He had been to see those Cardinals, and had begged them to despatch the matter. But another power had inter-

ferred. The French, who had a reason of their own for thwarting the arrangement, were opposing him. His eminence of Naples had informed him that although he was himself inclined to grant the suit, he had been requested by the Cardinal of Rouen to resist him, and to use his influence at the Vatican to induce the Pontiff to resist him. So, according to the sick ambassador, the matter stood, and nothing could be done in Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

Another Draft.

1503-4.

1. AT the Castle on the Mount, where Isabel was lodging with her friars and inquisitors, the thing was treated as a matter happily closed. She wrote as though this reference to the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples were an idle form. The business was, in her opinion, finished when she signed the articles in Segovia. From that moment she considered Catharine as Prince Henry's bride. She gave her that old title of Princess of Wales which had been lately dropt, and wrote to the young prince as to her favourite son. This child, who traced his lineage, like herself, to Edward the Third, appeared to her a second Juan; and as Catharine's rights in the succession were reserved, she talked as though his sons might have to reign in Spain, in Naples, and the Indies; but in spite of her brave words, her mind was racked by many doubts and fears. Guerra had come from London, and begun to play his part. She could not read the man. Unlike the envoys commonly employed by Henry, Guerra wore a frivolous air, and kept a chattering tongue. The King of England, he declared, was sending him on a mission into Portugal, connected with a certain business of the royal Nun. He had

arrived from London; he was going on to Lisbon. In his pocket he had letters from the King of England to the King of Spain. He knew Estrada, and had brought from him a message for the Queen. This gossip from the arcades of Medina was reported at the Mount. What could he mean? Was Henry sending to the royal Nun? If so, for what?

2. Fernando, when he joined his wife at New-Year's tide, observed this stranger with a curious eye. Was Henry plotting with the Nun? If so, his envoy had been strangely chosen. It was hardly like him to intrust so nice a business to a chattering fool. Was Guerra an impostor? Under the arcades, he had been boasting that he bore a letter from the King of England; yet the man had neither been at court, nor sent that letter to the Queen. If he were Henry's envoy, why should he remain apart? At length he came to court, where he was noted with a curious eye. By handing in a letter from the English King, he proved that in his chatter he had told some portion of the truth. He said he was about to visit Lisbon, on affairs connected with the Señora Excellenta. Was this story also true? What could the King of England want at Santa Clara? Henry was a widower. Could he be sending into Portugal for a wife, and seeking her in the legitimate heiress of Castille? Guerra was loquacious and confiding, yet Fernando could not make him out. He offered to return by way of Spain, and tell the King and Queen what he had learned and done! Was he a fool, or was he playing one? Had he an actual mission to the Nun? Was it a trick on

Henry's part? Estrada was enjoined to search it out, but in a safe and covert way. Fernando had no wish to make the royal Nun a subject of negotiations with the English court. With Max he could not help himself. Max was the Excellenta's cousin, and the bluster of a cousin might be borne. But Henry had no further interest in the Nun than he, Fernando, had in Pole. That interest was political; and neither he nor Isabel could bear the thought of opening out new fields of enterprise for foreign princes round the royal Nun. Estrada, therefore, was to search in secret; not to make the matter an affair of business; but to find out all the truth, and send his news to Spain. Fernando felt that what was done in Santa Clara was of nearer interest for his crown than what was going on in Rome.

3. As nothing could be done in Rome with the original Case, a second statement of the Case was drawn, and this time in the customary form of papal bulls. This draft was far less clear in substance, far less cynical in expression, than the first instructions sent from Spain. Whatever Isabel might be, the King was far less arrogant than he had been in the first weeks after Cerignola. France was pressing him at many points, and he was forced to stoop where he would otherwise have liked to strike. The draft was dated Rome, the twenty-sixth day of December, 1503; eight weeks only after Julius had been chosen Pope. Opening with a blessing from the servant of the servants of God to his beloved son Henry, born of his dearest son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, and to his beloved

daughter Catharine, born of his dearest son in Christ, Fernando, and his dearest daughter in Christ, Isabel, King and Queen of Spain and Sicily, Catholics, this draft went on to say that one surpassing power of the Roman Pontiff, given to him from above, enabled him to act according to the times and seasons, and according to the persons who might be concerned, as he should judge expedient in the Lord. It then set forth that Julius was informed by a petition, that Catharine had been married by a form of words to Arthur; that her marriage had *perhaps* been consummated; that the Prince had left no issue; that another marriage was desired by all the parties; and that supplication had been made to him for his apostolic license. In the cause of peace, and at the earnest prayer of the petitioners, this draft went on to say, the Pontiff granted them his dispensation from the penalties of sin, declared their union lawful, and their offspring legitimate, all constitutions, laws, and ordinances, to the contrary being set aside.

4. Such, in substance, was the second document laid before the Pope. As nearly all his jurists held that his dispensing power was absolute, he was at liberty to seal this draft. Let him be only satisfied that the bull was for the public good, that the request for it was urgent, and that every other method had been tried, and he was free, according to the canonists, to grant a bull. His predecessor, Alexander, as the Spaniards pointed out, had given a license for Maria, Catharine's elder sister, to espouse her dead sister's husband. The affinity was the

same. But Julius was not easy in his mind. A precedent of Borgia was no precedent for him; nor was Maria's case the same as Catharine's case. He would not seal the draft. Some copies of this draft were sent to London, as the copies of an actual bull. But no one was deceived; the English priests and lawyers being as keen as any scribe and friar at the Castle of the Mount. A papal bull was never given by word of mouth, nor as a Pontiff's personal act. Strict rules of law and method were observed, not only in the writing and the sealing, but the publication, of a papal bull. The writing must be in a Gothic hand; the seal must be of lead and not of wax. Even when a bull was fairly copied out and sealed, it had no force till issued by the Church in open day. Nor was the draft, of which these copies had been sent, a statement of the English case. No "perhaps" was written in the articles, and in the English view this change of word destroyed the legal virtue of the text. Whatever Rojas might have said in Rome, the articles submitted as the English case were plain. They stated nothing but the truth, and they required a simple answer on the facts set forth. To Henry, this was all in all: the peace and welfare of his kingdom hanging on a true interpretation of the law. To Warham this was also all in all; his contest being from first to last that what was wrong in heaven was also wrong in Rome. A people suffering from the past and anxious for the future, were unwilling to receive a document in which they found a single flaw.

5. As yet no sound had come from Naples, like

the thunder of Gonsalvo's guns at Cerignola, to dissolve the mists. All ears were straining towards the East for news. To gain some weeks, in which he might be free to take whatever course seemed open, Henry named a special embassy to the Holy See. Already he had several agents on the spot, connected with his country and his policy by various ties. Adriano di Castello and Sylvestro di Giglis were his bishops of Hereford and Worcester. Sherborne was his Dean of St. Paul's. Edward Scott, a gentleman of the Pope's bed-chamber, was his master of the great English hospital of San Tommaso. These could speak and act for him in case of need. But further time would be consumed in sending off a special mission, since the Pope, on hearing that ambassadors were on the way, could reasonably postpone his answer to the suit until they came.

6. Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight of the Garter, was selected as the lay chief of this embassy. Talbot was a soldier, and the deputy in Calais; yet he had an eye for business; and had sometimes been employed by Henry in such delicate things as levying fines and mulcts. With him were named the two Italian bishops, Richard Berry, abbot of Glastonbury, Dean Sherborne and Edward Scott. The object of their mission was to congratulate the Pope on his election, and to render homage in the name of Henry for his crown. They were to go before the Roman court, to prove the causes which prevented Henry from appearing in his proper person; beg the Pontiff to excuse his absence; and to do

such acts of reverence and obedience to the Holy See as had been done from early times by English kings. When this great act of homage had been done, they were to settle any other business which the King might have in Rome. But not a word was said in their commission as to pressing on the suit. The suit was never named at all!

CHAPTER VII.

Gonsalvo.

1504.

1. WHILE Gilbert was proceeding slowly on his way, the King took care to strengthen his supporters in the papal court. A richer bishopric than Hereford was dangled in the eyes of Adriano, and a Protectorate of England was suggested to Clemente della Rovere, a nephew of the Pope. Oliver, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had died six months ago, but Henry had reserved the mitre in his hands. If Adriano earned the royal favour he might chance to get the bishopric of Bath and Wells. A Protectorate of England was a more direct and weighty bribe. Clemente della Rovere had just been made a cardinal, with the title of the Pope's old parish of St. Peter in Chains. Louis had made him Bishop of Mende in the south of France; and Henry offered him the Protectorate of England, which Clemente della Rovere proudly undertook.

2. Having sent his embassy to Rome, done homage for his crown, and put his kingdom under Cardinal della Rovere's feet, the King had hope of further pause. He had not signed, and would not sign, the articles. Eight months had passed since Warham and Estrada drew them up. The Queen

of Spain had been insisting on the copies being exchanged. But Henry had not moved one step. So long as he held out, the Case was incomplete, the papers lay in his commissioners' hands, and nothing of a binding nature could be done in Rome. A Case to which the King refused his signature could hardly be considered as before the papal courts. If he could leave the suit alone, there was a chance of his escape. But while he dallied with the evil, he was rudely shaken from his dream by news from Italy. A battle had been fought and lost; a battle of the lurid rank and desolating fame of Crecy, Pavia, and Sedan.

3. A Pope having been chosen, Amboise had given the signal for his countrymen to march. In spite of heavy rains and broken roads, the French advanced into the south, recalling many of their columns to the camp, recovering the county of Fondi and the dukedom of Trajetto, and assembling all their forces on the river Garigliano, near the passage of the great highway from Rome to Naples. Mantua had his head-quarters near Ponte Corvo, while his great antagonist, Gonsalvo, lay at San Germano. Mantua meant to force the river and advance towards Naples. He was rich in cavalry and guns. His foot were not so numerous as the Spanish foot; but in the general mass of fighting power he left Gonsalvo far behind. For more than forty days and nights the Spanish troops had slept in bog and marsh, with poor supplies of food and drink. No stores could be received in camp, except by rugged tract and mountain pass. Yet these brave fellows lay in their morasses, stern

and patient as the grave, until the French appeared in sight. The opposite bank stood out in bluffs, on which the French encamped. A bridge of boats being thrown across the stream, the French swarmed over, leaping on the southern bank, and forming rapidly into line. They pricked on eagerly to find their foes. A ditch arrested them; a deep ditch, brimmed with water; and beyond it, earthworks stretching far and wide, and held by men who answered blow by blow. The French dashed forward, failed, retired, and fled. Except a rear-guard, every company that had crossed the bridge of boats streamed back in broken ranks. Their army had been checked.

4. Then rose a state of things which is so often seen among the French when the first ardour of attack is damped by adverse fortune. They began to grumble and disperse. Their camp was dry, their fleet was near, their food was fairly good; on almost every point the Spaniards who were lying in the bogs and marshes might have envied them; yet when the rains came down, the horses sickened, and the wine ran short, whole companies murmured, mutinied, and ran away. They called their general an opprobrious name, and in a fit of anger he resigned the chief command. The soldiers said they had been sold. The captains called their soldiers cowards. Every one yelled and swore that he had been betrayed. Nobody could command; nobody would obey. Then, like a flash, Gonsalvo broke upon them; crossed the river in their teeth; cut up their vanguard; rushed upon their camp; tore, scat-

tered, and destroyed the main array; and drove the remnants into Gaeta, with the loss of nearly all their standards, horses, stores, and guns.

5. That night Gonsalvo lay at Mola, and the next day summoned Gaeta to surrender. Gaeta was strong enough to keep an enemy at bay for months. The French had every motive to resist their enemies so long as they could load and fire a gun. To give up Gaeta was to yield the south. It seemed as though they might have made a good defence. The garrison was strong; the port was open; and their fleet was mistress of the sea. But the defeated troops were reeling, stunned and senseless, from the blow. They parleyed; asked for terms; and finding that Gonsalvo would allow them to depart, they lowered their flag. Few scenes in story match the horrors undergone by these unhappy troops. They filed from Gaeta, indigent, unarmed, and at the mercy of all comers. Not a hand was raised to help them, not a voice was heard to cheer them. Cold, sick, hungry, ragged, they advanced in gangs through Central Italy towards the Alps. No one was bound to house and feed them. In the wintry frosts they had to eat their rations in the open air, and make their beds beneath the forest trees. Day after day some fell, were left behind, and perished in the winter nights. A few arrived in France, but they were broken by disease, and scarcely any of them lived to bear the memory of their great defeat. Of all that mighty army which had crushed republics, set up popes, and threatened to subdue the world, Louis and Amboise could hardly find a man.

6. This battle of the Garigliano, and the peace which followed, gave Fernando a commanding voice in every city from the Straits of Messina to the passes of the Julian Alps. Fortune had smiled upon him nearer home. Albret had failed at Fontarabia; Rieux had failed at Salsas. Crossing the Pyrenees with forty thousand men, Fernando chased the scattered corps into the heart of Languedoc. All these disasters humbled Louis to the dust. He fell into a serious malady. Queen Anne, believing he was dying, fled away to Nantes, with Claude, the heiress of her duchy. Louis had to beg for peace on any terms his enemy might please. A truce was granted; and Fernando, armed with victory on every side, was now the foremost man on earth. Within a fortnight of the coming of this news from Italy, Henry was constrained to ratify and exchange the articles. A second step was won by Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Vatican.

1504.

1. By ratifying and exchanging the agreement something was conceded to the Spanish court, but Henry was not bound to move another step until the dispensation had been given in Rome. He could afford to wait. The Prince was still a minor in his thirteenth year of age; incapable of taking on himself a binding vow. A promise, therefore, that his son should marry Catharine on the Pontiff giving him a dispensation, was a form of words, and nothing more. His trust was in the grace of his protector, Cardinal della Rovere, in the cunning of his various ministers, and in the final equity of Rome.

2. In playing with a gamester like Fernando, every chance was to be weighed. Now, in the copies of the bull sent over in advance, there seemed a loop-hole for escape. The Prince's age had been forgotten. Nothing was inserted in the articles about his being a minor, and the scribes who had prepared the draft in Rome were unaware that one of the two parties in the suit was under age. This flaw was fatal to the instrument. A child of thirteen—and the Prince was under thirteen—could not make a binding promise. If Carvajal and Rojas—now as

strong in Rome as Amboise had been in the spring—should force that copy on the Pontiff nothing would be gained by them. To make a promise binding they must have a second bull, removing the impediment of youth. In this belief, the King gave way so far to Isabel's importunities as to allow the comedy of a betrothal to be played at Salisbury Court. Edmond Audley, Bishop of Salisbury, played the leading part. The rite was hardly over ere Estrada asked the King to treat the Princess as a member of the reigning house, to give her publicly the title of Princess of Wales, and pay into his hands a sum of money to defray the large expenses of her suit.

3. The King had no objection to her title. He had always called her the Princess of Wales. His Case implied her right to bear that title; but he gave it her as Arthur's widow, not as Henry's bride. The money was a different thing, and he refused to put his coin into Estrada's hands. John Heron, keeper of his purse, was ordered to pay a hundred pounds a month to Hollybrand, for Catharine's use, and to account for every farthing of that money to the Princess and the King. If anything remained he was to hand it over to the Princess for her private use. Estrada thought his work accomplished. For thirty months he had been absent, and he wanted to go home; but when he hinted, that as everything was settled, he might take his leave, the King astonished him by saying that nothing had as yet been done. Estrada was at fault. Were all these acts of ratification and betrothal nothing? Looking

at the court, he saw that Catharine had been put by Henry on a footing with his daughter, Lady Mary, in the rank she held as widow of his eldest son. The Queen being dead, a true Princess of Wales stood higher than a younger daughter, as Estrada must have known. When he suggested that his work being ended he might take his leave, he was surprised to hear that nothing had been fixed, that everything depended on the Pope, and that his Holiness hung back. "Remain," said Henry, "till the dispensation comes." Estrada promised to remain in England till the end of August, "If it fails to come by August we shall know the Pontiff will not grant the bull."

4. Yet Henry had but too much reason to suspect the Pope might yield. If he, in London, felt the burthen of Gonsalvo's victories, how could Julius stand in Rome against the moral fervour and material impulse of events? The fight was on Italian soil; the rout was on Italian roads; the spectacle of ruined power was in Italian towns. Gonsalvo was as much the lord of Rome as though his bombardiers were in the Castle of St. Angelo. The two great factions, the Orsini and Colonna, were united in his camp. He had no need to move a man in order to distress the Pontiff. At a sign from him the streets would fill with tumult; every palace would become a fortress; every gateway would be seized; and bands of partizans would begin to fight. Without Gonsalvo's favour Julius could not settle his accounts with Borgia, who would neither render nor defend his castles in the Roman States.

5. This man, whom Julius feared and hated with a bitterness beyond the passion shown by Henry towards his kinsman, Pole, was still in Rome. Lodged in the Vatican, surrounded by his staff, Cesare was in part a prisoner, and in part a despot. Having been persuaded to depart, he had prepared to enter on a new campaign. Recalled from Ostia, he had entered Rome with flying colours, and his men in such a state that Julius had found it prudent to conduct him to the Vatican. When Julius pressed him for the castles of Cesena, Forli, and Bertinovo, which he held within the Roman States, he wrote an order for his officers to yield them to the papal troops. Oviedo, an Asturian, rode with these instructions to Cesena, where Diego Chignone held the chief command. Borgia sent a secret order to Chignone, to arrest the messenger, cover him with chains, and pitch him from the wall. Chignone followed his instructions, and the papal officer was put to death; Chignone adding, as he hurled him from the rampart, that he would serve all traitors in like manner who should bring him orders to surrender while his master was not free.

6. A Spanish cardinal suggested to the Pope a way of dealing with this wicked Prince. This cardinal, Carvajal, proposed to take upon himself the task of making Borgia yield his castles. Julius took the Spaniard at his word, and Carvajal opened his negotiation in the citadel of Ostia, where Cesare had been lodged for safety. Carvajal showed his captive that the walls were high, the gates secure, the soldiers staunch. Cesare saw and understood.

Then Carvajal offered him a choice. If he consented to restore the Pontiff's castles he was free to go. If not, that citadel would be his grave. Cesare's courage fell. What guarantee, he asked, could Carvajal give him that on yielding up his cities he would find himself at liberty? "My own," said Carvajal: who entered into bonds to pay Cesare fifteen thousand ducats, if he failed in carrying out the terms proposed. Cesare took his bond, gave orders to his captains, and in due time heard that he had been obeyed. Then Carvajal told him he was free to go. Some hints were dropt that he would find a soldier's welcome if he went to Naples. A felucco was in waiting for him at Nettuno, whence he sailed to Mondragone in the Bay of Gaeta. After sending to Gonsalvo for a pass, he rode to Naples, where the Spaniard welcomed him with open arms, and watched him with unsleeping eyes. Gonsalvo was Fernando's officer; Fernando would but need to make a signal; and the prince whom Julius feared beyond all living men might be a prisoner in a Spanish ship.

CHAPTER IX.

Medina del Campo.

1504.

1. AT their Castle on the Mount, the King and Queen received intelligence from Naples that Cesare Borgia had begged asylum in their states. Swift councils led them into swift resolves. Cesare was no longer counted either as a friend or foe of Spain. He was a dupe and might be made a tool. Six months ago they had been ready to assist him to a crown; but Heaven had now deserted him, and they could only bow to a decree of Heaven. But though they could not help him, he might still help them. A duke in France, a brother-in-law of Jean, king-consort in Navarre, and a pretender in the Roman States, with wit and energy beyond the run of ordinary men, with partisans in every province, and with piles of gold laid up in foreign banks, Cesare Borgia was a living terror to the Pope. If he were safe in Spain, he might be turned to good account. A man so rich and reckless would be hard to catch, and harder still to hold when he was caught. But Isabel's Castle on the Mount was strong. The walls were high, the gates were narrow, and the ditch was wide. One pathway only crossed the ditch; one entrance only pierced the wall. One outer window

only broke the lofty tower. From such a cage, escape, unless by wings, could hardly be achieved. This Castle on the Mount would suit Cesare well. If he were lodged in Isabel's tower, the Pope would be constrained by fear to grant them anything they had a mind to ask.

2. Their trouble with the Nun had taught them how to use a hostage. They had turned Abd-allah's capture to the best account. In dealing with the English court, they had endeavoured to get possession of a rival to the throne. They had intrigued for years to get the custody of Edmond de la Pole. Cesare, they resolved, should be secured. As fast as messengers could ride and sail, they sped to Naples with an order for Gonsalvo to arrest the fugitive and send him instantly to Spain. Cesare was preparing to depart. In secret understanding with Gonsalvo, he was going to Pisa, whence he meant to pass, by way of Lucca, through the Appennines into Modena, from which he fancied he could reach the Roman States. At Forli and Cesena he expected to regain his castles and revive his cause. His health was now restored. His money was secure. A feeling had begun to spread through the legations that no other man could keep the Doge in check. Should he retrieve his fortunes in a fight with the Venetians, he might soon be in sufficient strength to march on Rome. Gonsalvo, conscious of his talents, thought he might succeed, and being a native prince was likely to oppose a new invasion by the French. So, far from putting obstacles in his way, Gonsalvo had been offering him

a galley for the voyage, and giving him leave to raise a troop of horse and foot in Naples. When the messengers from Spain arrived, his ship was lying at the mole, preparing to depart, and he was with Gonsalvo taking leave. A word sufficed to change the scene; a word conveyed in secret to Jacopo Piccinino, captain of the guard. On sallying from the hall, Cesare was arrested by the guards, and carried to a ship. That ship threw out her sails and put to sea, attended by a fleet, and in a month Cesare Borgia was a prisoner in the Castle on the Mount.

3. The Pope was saved; but those who had arrested Borgia could at any time restore him to his plots. At Rome the situation was extremely clear. Cesare was a prisoner to the King and Queen of Spain; a prisoner in the Castle on the Mount; where he amused himself by flying falcons from his balcony across the dreary steppe. His jailers must be humoured, and the Pontiff had the means of making them his friends. Let him announce the bull and Borgia would not quit their Castle on the Mount alive. Yet Julius, though he saw the situation plainly, could not readily make up his mind to grant the bull. The promise he had given distressed him. Even in its altered form, the Case required him to conceal a lie. For what? According to the hints thrown out, he was to humour and deceive his English children, and the children of those children yet unborn, to benefit the present princes and himself. A pastor does not like to humour and deceive his flock. What evils might

not flow from such a source? Disputed rights of birth, contending factions, and the rage of civil war. In the amended Case,—a Case which Henry had not signed—the primary facts were covered and concealed; yet no arrangement of the terms could hide from Julius and the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples the unlawful nature of the bull they were required to grant.

4. If Catharine was the widow of a former Prince of Wales, the papal power to grant a dispensation was denied; denied in London, where the dispensation was to have effect. A Roman canonist might say the privilege was absolute; but England was a country ruled by secular laws; and neither popes nor princes could prevent the men of York and Lancaster from fighting for their own construction of those secular laws. Their Case declared that Catharine was Prince Arthur's widow, and they asked him to insert that declaration in his bull. Fernando also held him to this point. "The dispensation," said his Highness, "must be given in perfect keeping with the clause." How could a pontiff seal that lie? Again he paused; as though by putting off the day, he could escape the deed. In answer to the King, who was obliged to feign a little haste—the question having been before him for a year—the Pontiff said he must have time. It was not true, as some alleged, that he had threatened to refuse the bull; but the impediments were great, and he was bound to weigh them well. The paper, he suggested, might be given in secret. Sherborne was a faithful priest whom he could trust to carry

out the bull. Sherborne was sick in Rome; his going would appear to have been caused by want of health; and truth to say, the journey would preserve his life.

5. Yet days and weeks rolled on, and Julius could not seal that bull. The summer slipped away; the autumn slipped away. Sherborne arrived in London; but he brought with him no papal grant. Wise men began to think the reference at an end. But Julius was a prince as well as priest. If Amboise had been able to support him, he might still have found the courage to resist; but he had many temporal things at stake; and dared not openly defy the King and Queen of Spain. He struggled long. Could not the King and Queen of Spain, he asked, be satisfied with his word of mouth? No, no, they answered; bulls were never given by word of mouth; and what they wanted was a public act. Then, said the Pontiff, they must give him time.

6. "The Queen is lying sick," her envoy answered him; "her doctors cannot guess her malady; and no one but your Holiness can reach the seat of her disease." Then he explained to Julius how the matter stood. The Queen, having set her heart on making Catharine Queen of England, would not leave her bed, except on having an assurance from his Holiness that the dispensation had been given. But she was not unmindful of his sacred office. It was his to judge of times and seasons, and to publish his decisions when he pleased. She would no longer press him for a public act; an act that would be known to all the world; she merely asked for proof

that her petition had not been cast aside. It was no other than a form for which she begged; but she was weak in body, and the satisfaction of her mind might save her. Let her hear the bull was sealed, and she might live again. In pity for her state, the Pope gave way. The draft was ready written, and he sealed it with the leaden seal. His act was personal and secret, not pontifical and public. It was not a dispensation from the penalties of sin. The Spaniard was enjoined to keep the secret close from every one save Isabel. Then his Holiness took that document away, and locked it in a secret drawer. No other eyes were meant to see that paper, and to scrutinize that seal.

7. This news was quickly borne to Isabel's Castle on the Mount. A third step had been gained. The draft was sealed. What more was wanted? They must get that paper from the secret drawer. They must announce its publication to the world. If it were published to the world, it would be hard for Julius to go back. Cesare Borgia was their pledge. No doubt it would be wicked to abuse the Pope; but after what had been already done, a falsehood more or less was nothing; and at any cost of honour and religion, they resolved to gain possession of that papal seal. They told their envoy to repair once more to Julius in the Vatican, to crave the Pontiff's pity, to suggest the service they had rendered to the Holy See, and to procure by any means possession of that bull. The Queen, he was to say, was dying at her Castle on the Mount, but could not pass into her rest till she had seen the bull with her own eyes.

A mother, it concerned the happiness of her child; a sovereign, it concerned the welfare of her states. She yearned to kiss with parting lip the proof which he had given of his paternal care. Without that solace of the heart, she could not die in peace. His Holiness was moved to pity by the envoy's tale. Could he not help the dying woman? Unaware how far his kindness was to be abused, he took the paper from his desk, and lent it to the envoy, on a pledge, which bound his honour and the honour of his sovereigns, that no other eye should see it save the dying Queen's.

8. About the middle of November the unpublished bull was at Medina del Campo, in the Queen's apartments. Not a day was lost in pausing on the act of shame. Regardless of the Pope's entreaty and her envoy's pledge, she instantly displayed the papal bull, not only to her secretaries, to her council, to her husband's ministers, but to the chiefs of all the orders in her realm. She and the King conjoined, put out a proclamation, dated from Medina, which they published in every city, town, and port, of Catharine's marriage to the Prince of Wales. "When Henry dies," this proclamation ran, with an indecent haste, "Catharine will be Queen of England." To complete this act of treachery to a noble but embarrassed Pope, Fernando sent a copy of the bull to London—saying nothing of the Pope's conditions and his envoy's pledge of honour—with a request that Henry would announce the publication by his letters-patent to the Catholic world!

CHAPTER X.

Castle on the Mount.

1504.

1. THIS breach of faith with Julius was the last of Isabel's public acts. She had already made her will, and Catharine's marriage was the final subject on her mind. In sending out the bull to London, not a word was dropt about the private seal, the urgent craving, and the secret pledge. She and her husband meant the English council to assume that Rome had given a dispensation in the usual way, and they imagined that a fraudulent publication by an English letter-patent would compel the Pontiff to complete his act of grace. If Henry had been eager for the bull to come, he might have fallen into the snare, and made himself a party to their scandalous breach of faith. But Henry was no child in cunning, and his news from Rome was fresh in date. A week before that copy came to London, Sherborne, who had just arrived from Rome, had told him that his cause was still before the Cardinals, and might be held in doubt for several months to come. He showed this news to Puebla, with some feigned regret that things were going on ill in Rome.

2. On seeing that the King was not deceived,

Puebla implored him to indite a letter to the Pope insisting that the dispensation should be given. The King replied that he would write. A copy of a letter to his Holiness was given to Puebla for his masters at their Castle on the Mount. According to this copy, Henry begged the Pope to recollect that he had written to the third Pius, and the sixth Alexander, both of whom had heard about his Case, and would have granted his request if they had only lived; also that he had been expecting Sherborne with the bull; and as his Dean of St. Paul's had come without it, he desired the Pope to send it by the English envoys who were still in Rome. But issuing letters-patent was a different thing to writing private notes. He would not publish the pretended bull. Yet no small part of Isabel's object had been gained by this deceit. On hearing of her treachery, his Holiness might fret and storm; but while she had Cesare Borgia in a dungeon near her person, he could do no more than fret and storm. The deed was done, and must be brazened out. By sending copies of the bull to London, she had brought to light the Pontiff's promise that a dispensation should be given. The English councillors had seen the bull. No Pontiff could undo what had been done. What matter if the Vatican were angry? Could the Pope restrain Cesare Borgia? Could the Cardinals keep Gonsalvo out of Rome?

3. It was her latest public act. Fernando, who had left her ailing, galloped to Medina on the first alarm that she might die. He came on a November day, in time to add some codicils and clauses to her

will and testament. Six weeks ago her testament had been signed; an honest paper in the main; which left her kingdom to her daughter and that daughter's husband, as her lawful heirs, without a word suggesting that her daughter was unsound of mind. Juana was enjoined to show her father due respect and love. But she was left a queen. Fernando cast these clauses to the wind, by getting Isabel to add a fifth and over-riding clause, in which the dying woman "ordered" the Archduchess and her husband, as they hoped to have her blessing and the blessing of Almighty God, to be "obedient subjects" to the King. They were enjoined to serve, obey and honour him in all things, as the best of fathers, kings, and men. This over-riding clause was signed one week before she died.

4. By many a previous sign the King had shown his purpose of usurping Isabel's power the moment she had passed away, and now his presence at the Castle on the Mount was felt by all to be the prelude to a storm. Some nobles took alarm, and could not be appeased by monk and scribe. Friends asked each other what was meant, and where a remedy should be sought. The Duke of Najara and the Marquis of Villena took a leading part in opposition to the King. Velasco, Constable of Castille, was with his peers. A message was despatched to Flanders, calling on the Archduke Philip to assume the crown, and stand in readiness to support the party of his wife. Philip was but too easy to persuade; since, by a treaty with the French, he had already secretly assumed the name of King. Juana

was a popular idol, for as yet the story of her lapsing faith and failing brain had not been widely spread. The law was on her side; the pride and glory of Castille were on her side. From Burgos to Granada, every capital of her country would have welcomed her with rapture, and the shrewdest agents of Fernando were disposed to cast their lot with her. Juan Manuel, who had served her father many years, deserted him in favour of his child. In the Castle on the Mount, and under the arcades of Medina, there were loud and menacing murmurs. Pedro Garcia de Sarmiento, Mayor of Medina del Campo, made no secret of his opposition to the King and Queen, whose grinding tyrannies had become too hard for men to bear. The citizens were with their chief, and strong as were the walls and gates, that Castle on the Mount was far from safe.

5. On Sunday, four days after Isabel had signed that over-riding clause which spoke of Philip and Juana as Fernando's "subjects," she was induced to sign a letter-patent, which might serve her husband for a prop, in case he could not carry out his larger plan. This letter-patent was addressed to all her prelates, dukes, and counts, her priors, captains, justices, and other officers of state, informing them that in the event of her daughter, the Archduchess, being either absent from the country, or unable to discharge the duties of her rank, the King, her father, should continue to "reign, govern, and administer her kingdom till Don Carlos should attain the age of twenty years." Before she signed this

letter-patent, she is reported to have made her husband swear that he would never take a second wife; an act which proved at once her prudence and her jealousy; for if Fernando were to wed another consort, he might have another son; and then that monarchy of Spain, which they had built at so much cost, would fall asunder, and the people would be harassed by the ancient rivalries of Aragon and Castille.

6. On Tuesday night a tempest swept across the damp and howling plain, and roared against the Castle on the Mount. A spirit, darker and more fretful than Cesare Borgia's, seemed to haunt the pile, and yell with menaces among those spectral ruins of an antique world. The Queen was sinking in her pain, surrounded by the monks and scribes whom she had hired to praise her. Morning dawned, but no improvement was observed. A wail of wind and rain beat heavily on her walls, yet through this rage of nature, her attendants in the sick-room caught a roar of human voices in the court below. The news that she was sinking had been carried through the streets and alleys of Medina, and the citizens had rushed from gate and fortress, swarmed across the brook Zafardiel, scaled the Mount, and gathered near the ditch to hear that she was gone. "The tyrant is about to die!" one shouted to another. "She will die and go to hell!" was shouted in reply. Pedro de Sarmiento was among this crowd. About the hour of noon she passed away, and her Italian scribe sat down and wrote a pastoral on her virtues. "No one of her sex, in either an-

cient or in modern times, is worthy in my judgment to be ranked with this incomparable woman," wrote Pietro Martire, that Italian scribe. It was her system. But her people held another language. When her neighbours, who were waiting in the storm beneath her ramparts, heard that she was gone, they rent the air with shouts and curses. Pedro de Sarmiento gave the popular feeling voice: "The usurpress is no more!" he cried. "Her soul has gone to hell; for her oppression of her people, she has gone to hell!"

7. Fernando fared no better at their hands than Isabel. "Fernando," cried the Mayor, who fancied that the King was but a stranger in the country now the Queen was gone, "is nothing but a robber and a rogue!" The King gave way—in seeming—to this storm. Descending from the Castle on the Mount, he walked into the town, and going to the public square, he mounted on a platform, where the banner of Castille had been unfurled by the Duke of Alva, and he cried to the great crowds before him, "Long live King Philip and Queen Juana of Castille!"

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.
CATHARINE PRINCESS.

CHAPTER I.

Croydon Park.

1504.

1. OF Catharine living as a widow in her teens at Croydon Park, within the pale and shadow of the church, we have some pictures painted by herself. She wrote in free and ample terms, uncovering all her heart. Her letters are not all extant; for in the after-battles of her life, when every scrap of writing from her pen became of moment, cabinets were searched and secretaries bribed, to give up what they held in keeping; yet enough remains of Catharine in these early days to show us how she shaped her life at Croydon Park.

2. At Croydon Park, and even at Durham House, the girl was very much alone. The Primate never rode to Croydon Park, the Prelate never called at Durham House. Although she slept beneath their roofs, she had no profit from the company of these

holy men, who were too busy with the King's affairs to waste their time on one whom they regarded as a sort of royal nun. Her semi-oriental habits, her enfeebled health, her fear of what might lie in waiting, and the fancies of her foreign servants, led her to prolong the days of her seclusion from the world. Elvira, the dueña, thought this semi-oriental style became her rank, her office, and her sorrow. She was leading a conventual life, without the drawback of conventual vows. A bishop's house and primate's park, with monk and priest for ever in her sight, were proper dwellings, the dueña thought, for one who had been widowed in her teens. Elvirā had the story of her eldest sister, Isabel, fresh in mind, and knew how high in favour of the Church that moping sister had been held. She had some knowledge of the dangers which beset the beautiful Archduchess. Catharine, to be safe, should nestle near the Church. Where could a member of the Order of St. Francis spend her mourning days more seemingly than in a primate's park among the Surrey hills, and in a bishop's palace by the river Thames?

3. When Catharine was bereft of her best friend and counsellor, Elizabeth the Good, she lived still more alone, seeing no company, reading few books and letters, and with no one but her maids of honour, her dueña, and her native servants, in the house. Puebla gave his full approval to this course of life; for he was well aware how much it pleased the King; and he had reasons of his own for wishing to oblige the King. Though Henry loved the child

in a paternal way, as he had always done, he could not bear as yet to see her face. She was the widow of his son, his peerless prince, his heir of Camelot. To him, a widow was a sort of nun,—a woman who had lived her life, had bowed her head in grief, and entered on a state of grace. All widows whom he knew lived more or less in nunneries. His mother had oftentimes retired into a convent, and his wife's mother spent her days in that of Bermondsey. The King was pleased that Catharine chose to stay in England, for he thought of her, not only as a widow of his son, but as of a pledge for Spain. So long as Catharine was at Croydon Park, her parents could not press him over-much. They dared not raise the flag of Pole; yet he was careful to retain her in a separate and conventual court. Since he was scheming for a French alliance, as a counterpoise to the Imperial match with Spain, it would have been unwise to place this blooming girl, so touching in her youth and in her grief, too near his son the Prince of Wales.

4. Her mother, while she lived, had written to her now and then; the King, her father, rarely; and her letters out of Spain, though few and long between, had not been weighted with much store of love. The child wrote warmly, even to her father: for her heart was young and fresh, in spite of her Franciscan tutors and Dominican guards; but he was far too busy with his amours and his treaties to respond with love. In one of her appeals to him, written on the day her mother died, she begged the King, her father, to bestow on her a line of

comfort,—one poor line of comfort,—as she had not read a word of his for upwards of a year.

5. But Croydon Park was not a convent like the house of Santa Clara in Coimbra, nor was Catharine, even in her years of mourning, ready to become a nun. A girl of flesh and blood,—the flesh not weak, the blood not water,—with a growing appetite for meat and wine, a brisk and saucy tongue, a riotous temper, an unbending will,—a girl to work her way through fibs and flatteries of the baser sort, if fibs and flatteries of the baser sort seemed necessary to her purpose,—such was Catharine in those early days at Croydon Park, as painted by her own too faithful pen. She liked to feast and dance, to frisk and romp, and when her means ran out, she showed no fear of getting into debt. Her path was one in which a saint might well have tripped; and it is only justice to the child to say she was no saint. A clever girl, not eighteen years of age, she saw that all her feelings as a daughter and a widow had been made the sport of kings. Since Padre Alessandro had been called away, she had no friend on whom she could rely. Elvira was her mother's deputy, paid to do that mother's will. In every quarrel of her household, Isabel took Elvira's part. Elvira must be satisfied; Elvira must be lady of the house; Elvira must be treated as her second self. Her maids had not been chosen by herself; and even when she learned to like them well, she was refused, by orders from her mother, to enjoy the solace of their company in her room alone. Elvira must be always at her side.

6. The men who came to Croydon Park and Durham House were pulling her in different ways, and she was utterly unable to perceive their drift. Estrada told her one thing, Puebla hinted the reverse. Each made a party in her ante-room against the other, and reported, with a clerical and southern warmth, whatever evil thing he heard directly to her mother's closet and her father's camp. When Guter came, the state of her affairs grew worse than ever, since his presence in the country raised another faction in her house. These quarrels grew so high at Croydon, that Manrique had a disagreement with his wife, on which Elvira made appeal to Spain. Without a word of reference to her daughter on the spot, the Queen had chosen to declare Elvira in the right. "Do what you can to please her," she had said, by way of orders to the Duke. "Make every one obey her, pacify her rage, and beg her to forgive her husband, if she can."

7. One comfort Catharine found amidst these household brawls. The King, who loved to spend his summer days in field and forest, carried her to Richmond, where a little court was formed by Lady Mary, now become a lovely, though a delicate child. From Richmond all the party went to Windsor, where they stayed a fortnight, going out into the forest every day to hunt. The Prince of Wales, who lived at Richmond for his studies, joined the royal party. Tall and stout, a daring rider and a deadly shot, the Prince, though under fourteen years of age, was just the youth to shine in royal hunts and ladies' eyes. On quitting Windsor Castle, they

returned to Richmond Palace, where the Prince was to resume his studies, while the other company dropped down the Thames to London. When about to drop from Richmond, Catharine fell into a curious sickness. No one knew of what she ailed; but after three days' suffering, she was able to resume her trip.

CHAPTER II.

Sick of Love.

1504.

1. THE royal party dropped to Westminster, where Catharine stayed with Lady Mary and the King, instead of going on to Durham House, her proper London home. The traces of her illness were not all removed, and Henry, though he had to go on public business into Kent, proposed to take her for a change of air to Greenwich, his peculiar home. A week passed by; the water side and breezy park appeared to do her good; and then the Richmond symptoms showed themselves again. She lost her appetite for meat and wine. The colour left her cheek; a bloodless pallor took the place of rose and cream. A hectic cough set in. As all the King's arrangements had been made for going into Kent, he was obliged to start; yet as the Prince, his son, was going with him, he could not in prudence carry Catharine too. She, therefore, was removed to Durham House, where the licentiate, who had lived with her some time as doctor, took her case in hand, assured that by a bolus and a lancet he could set the Princess on her feet.

2. From the Isle of Sheppy, Henry wrote a letter full of comfort to the widowed girl, and sent a

trusty friend to see her in his name. Since she had been unwell when he was forced to leave, the time would seem, he said, too long before he could receive good news. He loved her as a daughter; as a daughter of his own. She might confide her wishes to his trusty servant. If she knew of anything to be done in order to improve her health, he was prepared to carry out her wishes to the limit of his power. If he could do anything to give her pleasure, he was ready to perform a father's part. To Catharine such a letter must have been a balm. Nor was his kindness limited to a soothing note. He sent her many messages, and offered to attend on her in person when she wished him to appear at Durham House. He offered to call in the whole body of practitioners in his kingdom to her aid. In minor matters he was not less careful. Though he would not interfere directly in the quarrels of her people, he was always ready to assist her indirectly in maintaining peace.

3. Catharine never understood the canons and civilians who surrounded her at Durham House. At first they said she was a widow; afterwards they told her she had never been a wife. The men who spoke these words were learned men, as ripe in office as they were in years. Her mother, whom she thought the wisest queen on earth, had sent them over to instruct her youth. How could a girl of eighteen fight against these envoys? Yet they were making claims for her, one of which must be wrong. In every question as to title, state, and jointure, she was treated by the Spanish ministers

as Arthur's widow, while in every question as to the disposal of her hand in marriage, she was held to be as free as in her maiden days. How could a girl of eighteen summers understand these subtleties of law? One moment she was called Princess of Wales, another she was called Princess of Spain. A wife and not a wife; a widow, yet without a widow's right; was Catharine in her lonely room at Durham House. Of one thing only she was sure; she was the prisoner of her servants; and Elvira, as her mother's deputy, held her under lock and key.

4. In striving for some liberty, she showed no little of her mother's talent for advancing by a crooked road. She learned to play one minister against his fellow. To a girl of eighteen years, a duke of noble presence and of ancient name was likely to eclipse a coarse, provincial mayor, who dressed in rags, and bothered her with quips and quirks of law. She had preferred Ayala, whom this mayor had driven away from Durham House. She liked Estrada, who had come to make her queen, and who was moving heaven and earth to marry her to the Prince of Wales. But Puebla was regarded by the Princess as a foe. She thought him cold in her affairs; uncertain in his views; inclined to dally with the King. The girl had barely entered on her mother's scheme, before she found good reasons to suspect that Puebla, under much pretence of zeal in her behalf, was labouring to defeat the objects which she had so much at heart. No worse a thing than malice urged him, she supposed, to take this course; the malice of a vain and fretful

man, who held his talents to be slighted when these dukes and knights came over; but his malice was too much for her imperious temper to endure. She could not bear his rags, his scraps of law, his hints of failure, and she set herself to thwart, abuse, and weaken him. When he appeared at Durham House, she kept him waiting in an ante-chamber, with her menial servants. Sometimes she refused to see him, and the business in his charge stood over day by day and week by week.

5. Puebla was not a man who could be safely left to go his way. He knew too much, and had too many friends at court. If he were pushed too far, no sense of loyalty to his distant master would suffice to stop his tongue. The note from Padre Alessandro, which had caused that honest priest to be recalled to Spain, had passed beneath his eye. A man so armed for mischief was a dangerous foe to face; and Catharine made this man, who should have been her servant, the most secret and most active of her foes. Not once, but many times, she flouted him, forgave him, flouted him again, and then again forgave him. More than once he seemed to have returned to loyal service; to have made a compact with Elvira; to have entered on the business of his country; but the truce was always hollow, and the Princess, after trying him a fourth and fifth time, had to beg her father to recall the "caitiff" into Spain.

6. A malady, for which physicians found no name in their professional lists, had fallen on Catharine. She was flushed by sudden heat, and chilled

by sudden cold. These changes took her day and night. Her cough grew worse. She loathed the sight of meat and drink. A deadly pallor overspread her face. Sometimes her doctors said the thing was nothing, and a pill would set her right; at other times they spoke with serious mien. Her circulation was impeded. When their pill had failed, they tried a lancet, but the blood refused to flow. They cut a second time; no blood replied. What was the cause? The man who tried to bleed her was her own physician, a licentiate of his college, and an expert with his knife. She quickly rallied, and as quickly sank. One day, she seemed herself again, and sent off gladsome letters to the King. The next day, she was stricken down. Estrada thought the doctor was in fault. When he had failed a second time, he laid his knife apart, and trusted to his pills. The poor licentiate never guessed that the disease was in her mind; that pills were weak as lancets; and that no physician was of use to her except the Pope of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

Repudiation.

1504-5.

1. CATHARINE, who was staying with the King and Lady Mary in the palace, wrote a letter to her mother on the day that mother died. She had been writing to her frequently; three times in recent days; and she had sent her letters through the hands of Puebla. News more cheering had arrived by way of Flanders, whence her sister sent her word that the attack of ague, and the fever which ensued, had passed away. Her heart was very glad; but still she could not rest until she saw a letter from her mother's hand. What other comfort had she in the world compared to that of knowing that her mother was in health?

2. On going from the public square into his Castle on the Mount, Fernando wrote a letter to the King of England, which his prisoner in that fortress might have envied as a master-piece of diplomatic art. God had been pleased, he said, to take his consort Isabel, to Himself. Her death was the greatest loss that could have fallen on him. The King of England, he was sure, would feel his sorrow like a brother; but he felt one comfort in his misery; she was gone into her glory. He submitted

to the will of God. Before she died, he said, she had ordained and settled by her will that he should govern and administer her kingdoms of Castille, Leon, Granada, and the whole of their dependent states. No change was therefore caused by her decease in his relation to external courts. He was already governor and administrator in her name; in future he would govern and administer those kingdoms in the name of Queen Juana. Not a word was said of Philip in this letter. Not a hint was dropped of his renunciation in the public square. In his humility before the people of Medina, he was only King of Aragon, and, in the absence of his daughter, governor of Castille; but in his letter to the King of England, he was still, as he had been for many years, the reigning King of Spain.

3. It seemed as though the death of Isabel might throw a larger share of power into Fernando's hands. No one in either Rome or London dreamt that his authority in Spain was shaken by her death. The Pope was sorely tried. Though angry at the breach of faith, he saw no method of retreating from the ground he had been led in pity to assume. A copy of the bull was out. His cardinals were free, but he had lost his liberty of choice. Not only had his pledge been given; not only had the bull been sealed; not only had that bull been sent to Spain; but it had been displayed to many persons at Medina; and a copy of it had been laid before the English council. How could he stand out against these facts? The woman at Medina had

outwitted and betrayed him. Borgia, flying falcons from his window in her tower, was not more thoroughly at Fernando's mercy than himself. He called his nephew, Sylvestro di Giglis, and informed that prelate of the breach of faith observed towards him in Spain. The matter must, he said, be ended now. Sylvestro might repair to London with the bull.

4. The weight now fell on Henry's back. Fernando had returned the articles, proclaimed a peace with England, and conferred on English subjects privilege of trade. These acts had been accomplished eighteen months ago, and England had refused as yet to answer them in kind. To dally further was to rouse a dangerous spirit in Castillian hearts. Already, they were bursting with resentment; for the King, they thought, would neither marry Catharine to his son, nor let her sail for Spain. Was she a prisoner, like the Lady Excellenta? Henry was compelled to move a step, in order to postpone a rupture; and to take such step at once in order to reserve some liberty of action to his son. In three months more, that son would close his fourteenth year. At fourteen years of age a youth could take upon himself a binding vow. Unless these acts were done in time, the Prince would be required to sign and swear, and one sure avenue of escape would then be closed. At Canterbury, therefore, on the twelfth of March, a royal order was delivered by the lords, repeating, with the needed change of words, Fernando's former text. Peace was announced with Spain; the project was con-

sidered settled; and the Spanish merchants were admitted to all native privilege of trade.

5. But Henry had no sooner signed these orders than he took his measures of defence. When scanned by legal eyes, the bull, as sent from Spain, was seen to have three capital flaws. The statements in the Case, to which the King was bound, were not repeated in the bull, and nothing that the King had done compelled him to accept the paper in that altered shape. The bull had not been published by the Pontiff; and a private paper, though it should be regular in substance and in sealing, had no legal force. The Prince was not betrothed by "word of mouth," as stated in the bull. Being under age, he could not bind himself: and in the ceremony of betrothal at Salisbury Court, another voice than his had given the pledge by "word of mouth." If Henry had desired his son to carry out that pledge, he would have asked him when he came of age to take the surety's place, and pledge his love to Catharine in the usual form. He asked him to perform a very different act. Before the Prince had been one hour of age, a private council was convened at Richmond palace, on the twenty-seventh of June. Fox, bishop of Winchester, was present: as were also Daubeney, Somerset, and West, together with three other witnesses. Henry, Prince of Wales, deposed before these councillors, that he had been contracted during his minority to Catharine, Princess of Wales; that he had now attained the age of puberty; that he could judge and act for himself; that he refused to ratify the contract made for him; that, on the

contrary, he denounced that rite in Salisbury Court as null and void.

6. This act of repudiation was no secret in the court, and Catharine soon became aware of what the Prince had done. When Puebla spoke to Henry on the subject, nothing was denied, though Henry told him to regard the renunciation as a legal form, intended to preserve his right of asking for the unpaid portion of the lady's dowry. Puebla was uneasy in his mind. The dowry due from Spain was still unpaid; and while that dowry was unpaid, the English sovereign was not bound to carry out the articles. But if Puebla was uneasy, Catharine was dismayed. On her engagement with the Prince, she had been much at court; at Greenwich, Westminster, and Richmond; where, in spite of an appearance of retirement, which was still preserved about her, by the King's express desire, she saw the tall and handsome boy on whom her heart was set. A little freedom had been won, a little gaiety had been allowed. But now, on her repudiation by the Prince of Wales, the old, dull life of Croydon Park was forced upon her; a conventual life without the passion and the comfort of religious vows. Elvira ruled her with a woman's nerve, and Puebla teased her with a pedant's rules. The girl was sinking into debt, yet dared not ask her father for relief. Her servants were unpaid, and in their pride and poverty they stormed at her. She could not calm them, nor would Henry interfere. They were her father's people, he replied; her father must provide for them and govern them. Her dowry being un-

paid, all contracts with her father were annulled. She had no claims on English bounty. Bounty! Had it come to such a pass that they were giving her meat and drink as alms? Her proud and sensitive heart was fit to burst.

CHAPTER IV.

Self-Assertion.

1505.

1. STUNG into self-assertion, the repudiated bride of Durham House assumed the conduct of her own affairs. She was a child no longer; she was in her twentieth year; and both her mother and her mother-in-law were gone. She loved the Prince, and wished to marry him. The Pope, she understood, had given a dispensation for their union. Nothing, she imagined, but a question as to certain scudos kept her separated from the youth who was her heart's desire. But while she waited for her dowry to be paid, her debts were growing fast; and she was forced to make a last appeal. She told the King her life was wretched; her days were spent in misery; and if her debts were left unpaid, the King himself would suffer in his fame. She prayed him to afford her help. If she had spent her means on luxuries, the King might fairly leave her to her wants; but she had borrowed money from the bankers, she declared, in order to supply her table with the commonest food. If she had not been able to procure a loan, she must have starved to death.

2. She turned towards Spain, and, seeing how

the King, her father, had been gambling with her life, she looked to have her share in what was won. The situation of her sister and her father, as contending rulers in Castille, presented to her mind an opening for intrigue. Although Fernando had proclaimed his daughter, he had never dreamt of giving up his power. In what way he would carry out his plan was still uncertain. Philip was a man too high for him to satisfy with words. He had the Empire at his back. He had an ally in the King of France. Max was already putting on his mail, and asking who would lend him money for a rub with Spain. Louis was preparing for the day of his revenge. Amboise was closeted with Max and Philip in the old free town of Hagenau. Venice was represented at this congress in the person of Vincenzo Quirini, an accomplished youth, who was described as being more admirable than the Admirable Crichton. Many of the greatest nobles of Castille were sending to the King and Queen at Ghent. Gonsalvo, a Castillian, with the feelings of his order, was in secret correspondence with his foes. Some members of Fernando's staff advised him to resume the name of King, forbid the lawful King and Queen to enter Spain, and send an army to his frontiers to repel attack. But he was less inclined to open force than secret guile and fraud. If things were carried in that lofty way, the Cortes might protest. If war broke out, the gains of thirty years would be at stake. The army and the monkish orders might be true to him; the soldiers were devoted to a chief who never

failed them; and the fathers were alarmed at the intentions of their queen; but who could tell him how the towns would go?

3. Convinced that Philip would assert his claims, that Max would aid his son, that France would try another field, Fernando cast about him for the means of checking them. At once his thoughts ran off to Santa Clara, where the Lady Excellenta lived. His bond and oath forbade him to espouse another wife; but he had never held to either bond or oath when it had served his turn. If he could marry her, and set her up as queen, he might again be king in virtue of his wife. This match would brand the memory of Isabel, and might exclude her daughters from the throne; but he was callous as to what men said of Isabel, whose ashes he had laid in the Franciscan convent at Granada, and her children were to him no more than factors in a high and dazzling game. He wanted to recover his estate as King of Spain. Juana, though his child, was in his way, and any means of sweeping her aside were lawful in his eyes. Could he persuade the Excellenta to accept him and a crown? Rodrigo Manrique, an experienced envoy, went to Portugal, and tried to open a negotiation in his name. The royal Nun was coy. This lady was no longer young. Her spirit had been broken to her fate, and having been already wooed a dozen times, she had no heart for love and no ambition for a throne. She had the sad delight of seeing her cruellest enemy at her feet, but she was either in no mood to quit her cell, or loathed the man too deeply to

accept from him her lawful crown. The Excellenta's offers had been very strange. She had refused Fernando's son, and now she had refused Fernando's self.

4. Repulsed at Santa Clara by his niece, Fernando turned to Isabel's will and letter-patent. Under one of three conditions he could take upon himself the sovereign power as Regent of Castille. The first condition, that of absence, had arisen. So soon as he could prove the will and show the patent, he might enter on the duties of his rank. But in the face of public passion, he could hardly call a meeting of the Cortes in Toledo; nor could any other city in Castille be trusted to approve his virtual deposition of another Queen. A storm of civic rage was rising up against him. What the mayor had said of him in Medina was repeated in a hundred towns. His genius and his service were forgotten. He was branded as the Catalan, the Old Catalan; which in the idiom of Toledo meant a rascal and a thief. Some safer city must be sought. Fernando had not far to go. Beyond the frontier, on the low and windy plains of Leon, stood Toro, a decaying town, near which his first great victory had been won. At Toro he had crushed one Queen Juana. Toro was an open town, and easily kept in awe. At Toro, therefore, Isabel's will and letter-patent were read to procurators of the Cortes, who were sworn to pay due fealty and obedience to Juana, Queen proprietor of Castille. When they had sworn, they were informed in private that Juana was unable to discharge the

duties of her station; so that by the will and patent of her mother, the administration of her kingdom fell upon her sire. Fernando was requested by these procurators to assume the reins as Regent of Castille.

5. In Flanders with her jovial, handsome, and licentious lord, Juana heard of these events at Toro. Max declared that he would march; and Louis sent fresh forces into Languedoc. Velasco flew to arms. A general war seemed ready to break out; on one side the inquisitors and the rabble, with the foreign troops, the military orders and their Captain: on the other side, the nobles, the professional classes, and the trading guilds. Fernando feared to put so much at stake. Could anything be done with Philip? Philip was a vain and restless fellow, short of money like his father, and impatient of divided rule. Could he be tempted to divide his interest from his wife's? An overture was made to Philip and to Philip's servants. Could the Archduke be induced to share the revenue and government with Fernando? Could his counsellors be bribed with money, titles, and commands? The Flemish councillors proved to be corrupt. M. de Verre accepted a pension of three thousand ducats a-year; M. de la Chau one thousand ducats a-year; and other men five hundred ducats a-year. Fernando offered more than gold. The first bishopric in Spain was promised to M. de Verre's brother, and a hint was given that knighthoods and commanderships in the great military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, might be placed at the disposal of these

friends of Spain. With Juan Manuel nothing could be done; for Manuel was a proud and honest man; nor was it clear what course the King-Archduke might take. Manuel wished to treat Fernando as an enemy, while Verre was willing to regard him as a partner. Each stood high in Philip's favour, and before he went to Spain, these hostile councillors were both admitted to his order of the Golden Fleece. The plan suggested by Fernando's agents was, that Philip should complain about his wife, as being unduly jealous and imperious, and should request that while she held the name and state of Queen, the rule and revenue of her country should be shared between her father and himself. Verre and Chau were willing to go farther, even to the extent of saying with the Spanish agents that Juana was unsound of mind. Quirini noted her at the moment as "very handsome, sensible, and discreet." Juana, having her suspicions of Verre and Chau, detested these advisers of her husband, and was as likely to annul their pensions when she got to Spain, as she was likely to suppress the Holy Office in Castille and her dependent states. They paid her hatred back in kind, and worked on Philip's passions to divide him from his charming wife.

6. No one was more alive to these intrigues than the repudiated bride at Durham House. On one point she was living in the dark. Shut up with priests and women, and dependent for her news on Puebla and Elvira, each of whom had reasons for misleading her, Catharine had been led to think the main, if not the only obstacle to her marriage was

the unpaid dowry, which her father could not be induced to send. She had not heard the reasons why he kept that portion of her dowry back—his firm conviction that whether he paid or not, the King, his ally, would not suffer Catharine to espouse the Prince of Wales. With Henry it was not a case of money, but of conscience and of terror. He was frightened, both on spiritual and on temporal grounds, by such a project as the Spanish match. "This marriage," Lopez wrote to Manoel, "weighs too heavily on the King's conscience; it will never come to pass." But no one told the truth to Catharine. Elvira's brother, Manuel, was expecting to be Philip's minister in Spain. Elvira, in the hope of turning her against her father, strove, by all a woman's wit, to make her think that nothing but Fernando's lust of money stood between her and her hopes. The dowry was in Spain; if Philip and Juana were in Spain that dowry would be paid. So said Elvira. Catharine was beginning to detest the man whose policy was leading her to ruin; and she talked so openly against her father that the King rebuked her for a violence which seemed to him unseemly in Fernando's child.

7. Catharine sought to bring the court and council over to the Austrian camp. She angled for the King with an enticing bait. The fascinating Marguerite of Austria was a widow for the second time. Young, rich, and lovely, daughter of an emperor, and herself a queen of wit and song, she was a prize whom any lover might have been proud to win. Intrigues were soon afoot. Elvira was

Juana's subject, and when agents came from Ghent to Croydon Park, she took them into Catharine's room. Catharine was told that if a meeting of the English King could be arranged with Philip and Juana, her affairs would soon be settled as she wished. At such a meeting anything could be done. Juana would obtain her kingdom; Catharine's dowry would be paid; Henry would get possession of his rebel; Marguerite would ascend the English throne; and Henry, Prince of Wales, would marry his repudiated bride. Unluckily, these men from Ghent could speak no Spanish, and neither Catharine nor Elvira knew a word of Latin. They were forced to send for Puebla, and the cripple, while affecting to be with them heart and soul in what they were about, reported every word they said to Spain. "I am amazed," he chuckled in his letter, "at their indiscretion; but I think his Highness ought to gain by it." Fernando turned this information to the best account.

CHAPTER V.

Doctor de Puebla.

1505.

1. A SCENE occurred at Durham House, which Lopez de Vega might have thrown into a comic play. Suspecting mischief, Puebla kept his eye on Durham House; observing who arrived, how long they stayed, and when they left. He waylaid messengers and questioned servants. Bit by bit, he learned the news from Ghent. Juana had accepted Catharine's plan. A meeting of the Princes was proposed. If Henry would repair to Calais, Philip and Juana would go to St. Omer, near which a meeting could be held on neutral ground, which Henry might himself select. He felt that here was serious news for Spain. In any personal meeting of these princes Philip would be over-reached by Henry, and he knew that Henry was prepared for any measure, short of actual war, in order to obtain the custody of Edmond de la Pole.

2. Not feeling safe at Aachen, where his duns pursued him in the streets, and where the French kidnappers waited to surprise him, Pole had asked Charles d'Egmont, Duke of Gueldres, to give him an asylum in his states. Leaving his brother Richard in the town of Aachen as a hostage for the

payment of his debts, Pole had thought of visiting George, Duke of Saxony, in Friesland, where he hoped to get both men and money for his enterprise. At first he had been well received in Gueldres. Troops had been enlisted in his name; a thousand men, or more; and funds alone were wanting to enable him to charter ships, and tempt his fate by landing on the English coast. But soon the heyday of his fortunes had declined. James, King of Scots, had written to Charles of Gueldres, as his kinsman, to beware of Pole. The King of England, James had told the Duke, would never pardon Pole, and all the Princes in the world would fail if they attempted to upset the English King. Charles, Duke of Gueldres, had obeyed this hint from Scotland; first by asking Pole to pay his bill of costs—two thousand florins at the least; and next, on payment not being made, by clapping him in the fort of Wageningen. Pole had tried to steal away, and being followed, had been captured and brought back. A prisoner in the land where he had sought a refuge, Pole had now no hope of gaining his enlargement save in Philip, who was fighting with the Duke of Gueldres, and had asked to have the English lord delivered up to him. Gueldres had consented to his terms, but the engagement had not yet been carried out. At Wageningen, with his chaplain and some other servants, Pole was waiting for his cousin Philip to complete his work and set him free.

3. Puebla became aware that Philip's messengers had brought some news of Pole, with an

instruction from their master to consult the King. The matter was, he heard, to be conducted with the greatest secrecy. Philip's chief adviser, Juan Manuel, thought it wise to keep this prisoner as a pledge; and to delude the King of England with a show of amity. It was enough to say that Edmond de la Pole was now a prisoner of the King-Archduke, and that his brother Richard was a hostage in the hands of Kaiser Max. These counsels were extremely popular in the Flemish towns, where every one was crowing with delight on hearing that the English prince was in his master's hands. This captive was a curb on England, which might be driven to favour them with articles of trade. But Philip, as the cripple heard, was asking what the King would like. He also learned that Catharine was delighted at the coming of this news. Her main proposals were accepted on the other side. Philip would meet the King near St. Omer. A match of Marguerite of Austria with the King, her father-in-law, had been adopted by the Archduke and the Emperor. Two portraits of the Archduchess had been secretly brought over for the King to see.

4. In her excitement, Catharine, sent for Puebla to Durham House, to tell him all, and show him Philip's letters. When he came into her closet, she was writing to the English King. Esquivel, her master of the hall, was standing ready in his boots and cloak to carry her epistle. She was writing in the warmest terms, and begging Henry to appoint the meeting for an early day. She meant to go to

Calais with the King, she said, and see her sister and that sister's husband, ere they sailed for Spain. Max being then in Flanders, Puebla felt assured that he would also come to St. Omer, and that another league would be proposed against the Regent of Castille. "Señora," said the cripple, "I am going to the King of England. I will bear your letter with me. He will take it better from my hands than from a servant's." Had this offer been accepted, Puebla would have taken care (as he reported to Fernando) that the whole affair should end in smoke. But Catharine answered him that she could send the letter by a messenger of her own. Puebla reminded her that the King, her father, had lately named him as her proper agent; named him in a letter written and subscribed with his own royal hand; so that to send her message by another person would appear to be neglecting his injunctions. She refused to listen. Puebla begged that she would wait at least till he had spoken with Elvira in a private room. The cripple and the deputy retired. Puebla told Elvira he would be offended if she sent that letter by Esquivel. She answered Esquivel should go. "It is against my honour!" he exclaimed; and then he told her fiercely that her brother was a traitor to his sovereign lord, that he was acting as a creature of the King-Archduke, and that his business was to put her brother down. Elvira seemed alarmed by what he said, and Puebla left her with a promise that the note should not be sent.

5. Going home to dine, the cripple was at meat

when word was brought to him by spies whom he had placed near Durham House that he had been deceived. Esquivel had ridden off post haste. He could not eat a morsel. Rising in his rage, he left the dinner, ran to Durham House, and asked to see the Princess in her private room. His tone was high, his voice was loud. Elvira had betrayed him; he must see the Lady Princess in her room alone. When he had gained her chamber, he bade her swear a solemn oath that she would keep what he was going to say a secret. Catharine swore an oath. He then informed her that this meeting of the Kings had been arranged by Juan Manuel and Elvira for the injury of her father and her sister. Manuel was a traitor, and was seeking to undo his natural prince. Unless this thing were stopped, her family would be ruined. Catharine trembled at his words, and asked the envoy what she ought to do? Do! She must write another note to Henry; writing in cypher, so that no one could betray her. She must mount a rider on her fleetest horse, and send that rider off at once. He told her what to say and how to say it; nay, he chose the very words she was to write.

6. Completely cowed by this old man, whom she detested and despised, she took her pen and wrote. She begged the King, her father-in-law, to think more kindly of the King, her father, than he had done. When she asked him to meet the King-Archduke she had not been aware how much her father would dislike that meeting. She had learnt it under oath of secrecy from the Spanish envoy.

Had she known it earlier she would not have asked the King to meet her brother-in-law; neither would she have sent her letter of that morning to his Highness. She assured the King that she had given up all idea of her project, and she prayed him not to think of it again. Puebla took this letter from her hand and sent it by a servant of his own, whom he enjoined to ride at his best speed and overtake Esquivel on the road. This servant also bore a letter from himself to Henry. Having seen the man ride off, Puebla returned to Catharine's room, and begged the Princess, as she loved her father, to deceive Elvira and the household in this matter. She must seem, he told her, to desire and to expect the meeting more than ever. No one must imagine she had changed her course. By her dissimulation in this business, she would serve the King, her father, more than by sending him a contingent of two thousand men. Catharine said she would obey, and Puebla thought her utterly subdued. In writing to Fernando later in the evening, Puebla said, "The lady Princess has a good heart, and loves the King, her father, better than herself. She will preserve his secret safe."

CHAPTER VI.

In England.

1506.

1. THE interview took place, though not, as Catharine had proposed, on neutral ground near Calais. No such neutral district could be found, and Philip would not trust himself inside the city gates. An accident supplied a fitting place. Juana and her husband, having hired a fleet of ships, and put two thousand minstrels, councillors, and abigails on board, set sail from Zealand in the midst of winter. Chau was with him; and Quirini followed, as in duty bound; his mission from the Signory being to wait upon the King-Archduke. Philip had received a warning that his father-in-law was threatening him at every point. If he should come into Castille, Fernando was to drive him back; to serve him as a matador serves a bull; to marry a young wife and disinherit Isabel's child in Aragon and Sicily. They were reporting that Juana was unsound in mind, and that her husband had been forced to lock her up. Indignant at these slanders on his wife, for which the hints of Verre and Chau had not prepared him, Philip had flung the calumny back into Fernando's teeth, and put his wife on board the fleet, where every one could see and

judge between her father and herself. While they were still on shore, no hint had reached the shrewd Venetian envoy that Juan was insane.

2. A tempest scattered them at sea, and Philip's vessel, after being thrice on fire and almost wrecked, was driven for shelter into Melcombe Roads. Some ships went down; some ran to distant ports. The German troops, with whom Quirini sailed, had landed on the Cornish coast. Juana had behaved throughout the storm with lofty courage; but the King and Queen, poor sailors at the best, were glad to find a refuge from the tempest, even in an English port. On kindly greeting from the King, they landed and became his guests; though their advisers urged them to depart, not only on the ground that this delay would give Fernando time to plot, but would expose two young and ardent people to the dangerous courtesies of their English host. They rode to Windsor, Philip in advance. Juana found herself as popular in England as in Spain; her youth, her blood, her beauty, and her courage in the recent storm, attracting every eye and winning every heart. She came to Richmond, where she met her sister Catharine, for the first time since the girls had parted company on the Alhambra slopes. Juana rode through Windsor forest, and amused the King by entering from the Little Park, with hardly any fuss and noise. But Henry, warned in time, was waiting to receive her at the stair of his new tower where he embraced and kissed her. Catharine stood beside the Kings, and when the sport of kissing, laughing, and explaining ended, all the company

went up into her husband's lodgings on the river front. In Cornwall, where the strangers waited for their Prince, Quirini caught a rumour that the Queen was jealous, that the King and she had tiffs, and that, since leaving Zealand, she had seemed to be insane; but in the Windsor circle, where the ablest laymen and divines were near her many weeks, no one observed in her an intellectual flaw.

3. No part of Catharine's own design was carried out. If Henry and Philip met in conference, and they met in conference every day, they were too much engrossed to think of her. Pole was at Namur, in Philip's hands; the King was bent on getting hold of him. He had no thought of putting Pole to death, for it was now too plain to him that Warwick's execution was a grave mistake. No axe could cut away the House of York, and while a single man remained, the partizans of York would hail him as their prince. The way to treat this faction was to place the foremost Rose of York in ward, as Warwick had been placed in ward. While Warwick was alive no one could trouble Henry save a man who claimed to be King Edward's son. When Warwick perished, Edmond de la Pole became the Rose of York; and if this foolish prince should be removed by death, the honours of his house would fall on Richard de la Pole, a man with larger brains and steadier purpose than the captive in Namur. It would have been poor science to raise this young and clever brother to the rank of Rose of York.

4. Pole was trying to negotiate for peace with

Henry; but his notions were so lofty that the English council would not listen to his terms. Confined within the fortress of Namur, without a penny and without a friend, he held the language of a man with armies at his back. He offered to accept a pardon from the King and to resume his place at court. He asked to have his family estates, his father's dukedom, and the towns and castles he had forfeited. His brother William must be liberated from the Tower; his right of access and of audience must be granted; and a parliamentary guarantee for his security in England must be sent. Moreover, he required the King to use his influence with the Flemings to deliver him out of prison in Namur.

5. At Windsor, Henry had a "secret room" in which he sometimes dined and slept. He carried Philip to this secret room, and there they settled articles of peace. The King of England was to marry Philip's sister, the Archduchess Marguerite; and Carlos, Philip's son, was to espouse the King's daughter, Lady Mary. Philip kissed the lovely girl, who came into the dining-room, and danced and played the lute till every one grew hearty in her praise. But neither Philip nor her father was sincere. The first desired to give his sister Marguerite to Henry, and reserve his son, Don Carlos, for Madame Claude; the second, to deceive his Austrian guest with offers for the Archduchess Marguerite, and to secure the prize of Carlos for his daughter. Everybody was proposing wives to Henry. The Imperialists were offering him Marguerite of Austria,

the Spaniards were offering him the Queen of Naples, and the French were offering him Louise de Savoie. Henry listened, smiled, and promised, so that every one in turn had hope of seeing a countrywoman mount the English throne. But all these things were distant, and the King had objects nearer to his heart. He wanted trade and wanted Pole. "You have been saved on my coast," said Henry to his guest, "I hope you will not suffer me to be wrecked on yours." The Archduke understood him well enough, yet Henry added; "I mean that harebrained fellow, Suffolk, who is in your country, where he plays the fool, though every one is weary of the game." "If he troubles your Highness, I will banish him," said Philip. "Hornets are better in their nests, not flying out abroad," quoth Henry, who explained that he should like the rebel peer to be surrendered. "It is against my honour," cried the Prince. "If that be all," said Henry, "the affair is closed; I take the whole dishonour on myself." As Philip still hung fire, the King suggested a perplexing question. Could he, Henry Tudor, marry the Archduchess Marguerite as Philip wished? Philip had asked to dine alone with Henry in his secret room that day, and there a pedigree was shown to him by which the King's relationship to his sister proved to be within the near prohibited degrees. He was related to her on his father's side and on his mother's side. Could anything be done without a dispensation from the Pope?

6. While they were chaffering in the secret room,

a French ambassador arrived. Louis, who had signed a treaty for the marriage of his daughter Claude to Carlos, was negotiating with the English court a marriage of his cousin, Marguerite d'Angoulême, with the Prince of Wales. On every side the Archduke-King was touched. The French might hear that he was treating for a marriage of his son, that son who was engaged to Claude; on which the King of France might turn against him in his Spanish enterprise. The French might also carry off the Prince of Wales from Catharine; and he feared the King would never carry out his contract with his sister, Marguerite of Austria. All these terrors told on Philip. Four days after he had dined with Henry in the secret chamber, when the pedigree was shown to him, he waited on the King and offered to surrender Pole.

7. To save the Archduke's credit, Henry undertook to spare his life and bring him over into England with as little violence as need be used. Yet Philip's fears about the French were groundless. They had passed already far beyond the stage of jealousy about his son. Their love of country had prevailed above their pride. A secret compact had been signed at Blois, in presence of Cardinal d'Amboise, by the two ladies, Anne de Bretagne, Queen of France, mother of Claude, and Louise de Savoie, Comtesse d'Angoulême, mother of François, for the marriage of their children, one the heiress of Bretagne, the other heir of France. This act annulled the former treaty of Blois, by which Louis had engaged to give his daughter, Madame Claude,

to Carlos. The Estates, convened at Blois, had ratified this contract. François was to marry Claude, and Bretagne to be saved for France.

8. Philip agreed to stay in England until Pole arrived. The details of delivery were not easy to arrange. The Archduke's councillors at Mechlin feared that even after Pole's surrender, Philip would be held in pledge. Remonstrances were, therefore, made against delivering Pole till Philip was on board his fleet. But Philip made the best as he had made the worst of his position at the English court. He was as much in Henry's power as Pole was in his own. No one would feel surprise if Henry were to lodge him in the royal keep. It was an age of force, and almost every prince in Europe had some rival, as a prisoner, on his hands. Louis had Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, in an iron cage at Loches. Fernando had Cesare Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, in his Castle on the Mount. Manoel had the Lady Excellenta in his convent of Coimbra. Henry had Courtney in the Tower. Philip had Pole in his strong fortress of Namur. That fortress of Namur was not so strong as Windsor. If the keys were turned on Philip, who would help him to escape? Not Louis; not Fernando. There was Max, his father; but the Emperor could not hire and arm a vessel. Max had gone to Germany, breathing war and begging ducats to conduct that war; so pinched in purse, that both at Mechlin and at Worms he was obliged to leave his wife, the Empress, in the hands of tavern-keepers as security for the payment of his bills. No help could

come from Max. Should Philip be detained in England, as Cesare was in Spain, as Ludovico was in France, no power on earth could set him free by force of arms. He had been frightened once before, and had no wish to tempt his fate. The Flemish towns would rail, no doubt, since they considered Pole "a bit in Henry's mouth," but he was proof against the railing of a mob whom he might never see again. Chau went over with an order to carry Pole to Calais, and deliver him to the English deputy. Pole being now in English hands, was brought to London and confided to the Tower. Philip and Juana went on board their ships, but leaving Catharine as they found her—a repudiated bride. Nothing had been done for her; and shortly after Philip and Juana left, the English minister in Spain received instructions to demand the payment of her dowry, and to threaten that the Princess should be instantly sent home.

CHAPTER VII.

King Philip.

1506.

I. REPULSED from Santa Clara by the royal Nun, alarmed by the affair at Hagenau, and doubtful as to Philip's strength, Fernando had already turned his face towards France. No lady in that country could supply him like the Excellenta with a title to Castille; nay, any lady of that country who might marry him would jeopardize the union of Castille and Aragon to which he had devoted years of service, and for which he had committed endless crimes. But he was frantic in his rage against the Austrian Prince, whose councillors he had bribed, and what had seemed to be the public purpose of his life was hurled aside in jealousy and spite. Louis was smarting under his defeat in Naples, and might welcome a concession from the victor's side. What could he offer to the French, that Louis would desire to gain? That he must make some sacrifice was clear, and Naples was an easier sacrifice for him to make than Perpignan; the more so, as he found good reason to suspect Gonsalvo's faith. The Emperor and Philip had been urging the great captain to revolt. Gonsalvo owed allegiance to Juana, not her father. Nearly

all his peers, the grandees of Castille, were rallying to her flag. If war broke out with Louis, Naples, in Gonsalvo's hands, would not be safe. Suppose Fernando were to take a consort from the House of France and offer to resign to her his claim on Naples? Terms like these would spare the pride of Louis; and the French who looked upon the Austrians as their natural foe, could have no interest in extending the dominions of a family which hemmed in France on every side.

2. The woman of his choice was Germaine, daughter of Jean de Foix, Count of Narbonne, and Madame d'Orleans, a sister of King Louis. Eighteen years of age, and therefore younger than Fernando's youngest child, Germaine was fair of face and light of wit; a product of that airy court and school in which the partner of his son, Don Juan, had been trained. But he was far too angry to be wise. Her father was a son of Elinor of Aragon, that younger sister who had robbed him, as he fancied, of a kingdom in the Pyrenees. To Elinor, as to his brother Carlos, he had always borne a deadly spite, and he had followed her descendants with a malice that had never slept. From year to year, he had promoted troubles, and supported factions in her states. He had arrested and disgraced her son, Don Jaime, the Friend of Light. He had prevented her grandson Phœbus marrying the royal Nun, and was suspected in the manner of his sudden death. His offer, therefore, seemed a portent; but the girl was young and flighty; and the King of France, her uncle, saw his profit in the match. A Catalan

monk, Fray Juan de Enguera, had been sent to Paris with this offer for the hand of Germaine. Amboise raised few obstacles. A scheme that promised to divide the courts of Aragon and Austria by a personal feud, and part the two great monarchies of Spain, was highly welcome to the French. These terms had been submitted by the Catalan monk. Fernando was to yield his claims on Naples, to repay the French their losses in the war, and to restore the partizans of Louis in that kingdom to their titles and estates. What more could France desire? A victory in the field might give them less. Amboise consented, and Fernando was allowed to wed a princess of the House of France. Not six months after Isabel died, a second consort had been chosen by her perjured lord, and their Italian conquests had been sundered from the crown of Spain.

3. When Philip and Juana landed at Coruña and advanced into the country, they were welcomed as the lawful King and Queen. In every town they heard some story of the inquisition which inflamed their anger. Deza, Archbishop of Seville, who had taken Torquemada's post as grand inquisitor, had sought his victims in the highest class, and driven the greatest cities to the verge of civil war. Among his victims were the venerable Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada, and the still more venerable Lebrija, founder of the Spanish School of Light. Cordova was on the point of rising; clerks and laymen in a mass; the bishop, the cathedral chapter, the nobility, the mayor and councillors of that city

having tried in vain to put an end to the iniquitous acts of Deza's agents. Philip and Juana, listening to the Bishop of Cordova, deposed the grand inquisitor from his seat; requested him to yield his power to Guzman, Bishop of Catania; and required him to repair at once to Seville and remain within the borders of his see.

4. Juana and her husband kept to their engagements with the court at Windsor. They announced in every city the betrothal of their son to Lady Mary, and on coming to Valladolid they made a solemn publication in the chapel royal of the banns for Henry, King of England, and their sister, the Archduchess Marguerite. No acts of theirs so mortified Fernando as this giving of his heir in marriage without asking his consent. Fernando talked of meeting them in arms; but wiser counsels flashed on his excited brain. Juana was, he saw, a public idol; but her consort, Philip, and his friends were strangers, and might easily be alarmed. A son of penniless Max, Philip was said to be dipping his fingers into Spanish chests, and not for honest purposes of state, but to reward the enemies and rivals of their Queen. This charge was true. The Verres and Chaus, who hungered after Spanish coin, were balanced by a tribe of venal beauties whom the Austrian prince preferred to his enchanting wife. One favourite had been left in Brussels, as the damsel would not go to sea, and shrewd observers fancied that her royal lover would invent excuses to return ere long from Spain. In the fear of the

Dominicans, and the jealousy of the mob, Fernando saw his way to crush both Philip and his wife. On hearing that the Prince was chafed, as Chau took care he should be chafed, by what he heard of public talk, Fernando made the first move in his game by begging Cardinal Ximenes, who had gone to hail his mistress, to prevent a civil war from breaking out, by showing Philip how the question stood between them. Asking for an audience of the Prince, Ximenes was to tell him that the nobles of Castille were arming to oppose both Aragonese and Austrian, who were looked upon as equal strangers in the land; and that the Constable, Velasco, was resolved to drive them out, to leave Castille to the Castillians, and to have Juana as their sole and undisputed Queen. If Philip listened to this tale, Ximenes was to hint that Philip and Fernando ought to meet, and take some steps to baffle those designs. The Cardinal who had now become a patron of the inquisition, undertook this task, and Philip, who was tiring of his consort, fell into the Cardinal's trap. At Villa Fafila, they were to meet for secret counsel; one, to offer terms against his daughter, and the second, to accept those terms against his wife.

5. That meeting was a curious scene. A small white church was burning in the summer sun, amid the reek and squalor of a Spanish hamlet, when a troop of horse came dashing in; a troop of German horse, commanded by a member of the Golden Fleece, enclosing Philip in their ranks. To them crept in a train of donkeys, with some monks and

servants, in the front of whom Fernando ambled on an ass. Each group drew near the church, at which the Kings alighted, kissed each other, and, the door being open, slipped into the church. They entered it alone and stayed in it alone. The door was left ajar, and those who stood outside could see, and even hear, though not to catch the sense of what was said. Fernando talked the most, and in a deep, sepulchral tone, while Philip mused in thought, and seemed uneasy and perplexed in face. Their speech was long, and sometimes angry; but it seemed at length to take a happy turn. A gospel lay before them on the table—the Communion table—and the two Kings laid their lips on it, and seemed to make a solemn oath. Some pens were used, some papers were exchanged, and then the Kings came out into the summer sun. They kissed each other tenderly, and mounting, rode away; the old man on his donkey, and the young on his war-horse. Villa Fafila, the hamlet with the small white church, was left alone, as yet unconscious that the visitors had touched it with a magic wand.

6. Returning to the house in which he lodged near by, Fernando told his secretary an amazing tale. In riding on the road without his guard, he said he had fallen into the hands of Philip, at the head of a great army, and had been compelled by force to sign two treaties of a nature so abominable, that he loathed to speak of them. The Archduke, he went on, had stripped the Queen, his partner, of her crown. He had assumed the regal power. Supported by an army, he had made him a prisoner,

and compelled him out of bodily fear to sign a treaty which would rob Juana of her lawful rights. It was a monstrous injury, and one no father could forgive. But worse was yet to come. Not satisfied with having got one treaty from him, Philip had insisted on a second; binding him, in case Juana and the nobles of Castille should protest against her deposition, to assist her Austrian husband in suppressing them by force of arms. The Archduke-King, he said, had made him touch the holy cross and swear, had made him kiss the holy book and swear; but he would never keep those oaths against the Queen, his daughter, and the legal heiress of Castille. He had succumbed to personal fear; but having got away from Philip, he commanded Almazan to draw and lodge a protest in his name against these monstrous acts. At present he could do no more. All power was gone from him, and Philip was the reigning king, but ere he left Castille, a broken man, he wished to put his wrongs on record. He protested heartily against the treaties he had been compelled to sign.

7. Lodging this protest with his secretary for future use, Fernando bade adieu to his dear children, as he called them; begging them to love each other, and to live together in the bonds of peace, as every husband and his wife should live. For himself, he should depart into a foreign land. If he were near them, they might think of him too much. It would be better for a time, while they were young in power, that seas should roll between them. He would go to Naples, as a proof that he

had given up every thought of interfering with the government in Castille. Loud yells and curses hailed the father tyrant as he rode away. The towns refused to lodge him. Gates were closed, as he approached; and every one was glad to know that he was gone. But ere he sailed he sent a confidential servant, Mosen Ferrer, to Burgos, where the King and Queen were feasting, with a note to Philip, and instructions to be always near his royal court. Fernando sailed for Italy, where he was to meet his wife's relation, Louis the Twelfth; Mosen Ferrer rode to Burgos, where he was to see his son-in-law, Philip the Fair. One week after Ferrer's arrival, Philip was a corpse.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Spanish Sisters.

1507.

1. A YOUNG and lovely widow, with a kingdom for a dower, Juana was ere long besought by many suitors, some of whom desired her for her beauty, and were deaf to all that was being said against her. Others only feigned proposals as a cover for intrigues elsewhere. In which of these two classes stood the English King? A broken man, with wasted body, hectic cough, and eyes bent down, his thoughts were turning to the day when his high seat would miss him; when his son would have to stand alone, an inexperienced boy, in a distracted state. The King desired to feel that Henry would succeed in peace, and as the ports from which all serious danger came were those of France, sound policy compelled him to protect his son by family ties in Paris. Marguerite d'Angoulême was the woman of his choice, but he was hampered by the contract he had signed with Spain. Fernando held him to his bond. To raise new questions seemed the only chance of putting off an evil day.

2. Suppose the Council were to make proposals for a match between Juana, now a widow, and the King? By such an offer, time would certainly be

gained. The King might be induced to let them try. An artist, he was fond of physical beauty. When, in recent days, he had been pressed to think of such or such a lady, his advisers had procured a special study of that lady's charms; the colour of her eyes and hair, the graces of her person, and the perfume of her breath. Whatever else she was, a bride suggested to their master must be fair of face. Juana was a Queen of Beauty; he had seen her for himself; and he could judge between the evidence of his senses, and the rumours which were brought to them from Spain. Fernando, who was still in Italy, was not a man to answer them in haste. He would be sure to feel his way on many sides, and put them off till he was back in Spain. In one sense such an offer might appear to suit him well; for Henry had been treating for a match with Philip's sister, and a transfer of his suit to Philip's widow would provoke the rage of Max. In Germany every one was saying that Philip had been poisoned by Fernando's orders; war was likely to ensue; and it was well to have an ally in his fight with the Imperial house. Yet, though the King might take his time, he would be sure to end by a rejection of the English suit. Fernando had not schemed in order to establish such a man as Henry in the office of King-consort of Castille.

3. Catharine offered Henry the assistance of her pen. This office was a strange one; for the woman whom she courted was her sister, and the man for whom she courted was her father-in-law. Fernando answered her from Naples in his smoothest vein.

Catharine was to whisper hope; but she was not to give a promise in Juana's name. She was to tell the King and Council that her father was delighted with these offers on the part of Henry, but that nothing could be done in the affair till he arrived in Spain. Juana was a curious lady; and moreover she was thought to have an eye on some one else. No human being but her father would be able to prevail with her. As soon as he arrived in Spain, an English envoy might come over to discuss the terms. Fernando turned to what concerned herself. She was to study how to please the King, and win the love of Henry Prince of Wales. He promised that her dowry should be paid. It was, he said, no fault of his, but of her old friend Philip that this money had been kept in hand so long. When he arrived in Spain the hundred thousand crowns should all be paid, and then her standing at the English court would be improved. Being more than ever false he wrote with more than usual warmth: "As soon as I arrive in Spain, I shall provide with God's best help that your dowry shall be sent to England; for you are not only my own daughter, but I hold your person in the highest estimation, and I wish to see you in a place of honour, and in perfect comfort. I shall set to work for you as earnestly as for the salvation of my soul." He told her she must strive by every artifice in a woman's power to gain support, so that the King might see, by words, by signs, by facts, that his best chance of keeping the succession in his family was in letting her have the Prince of Wales.

4. On his arrival in Castille, Fernando seized the reins as Regent, with Ximenes as his President of the Council, and allowed the grand inquisitor, Deza, to resume his place and power. From that moment, law was overthrown. The soldier and the friar were masters of the whole of Spain. Juana was a prisoner—partly to her father, partly to the Church—in a deserted castle in the town of Tordesillas, standing on the dreary Leon steppe. She lay in charge of Mosen Ferrer, that ill-omened servant of the King. The corpse of Philip had been placed at Santa Clara, a convent in the neighbourhood; but rumours had been spread about the courts of Europe, that Juana, wandering in her intellect, kept the body of her husband in her room. It was reported also that the poor demented lady forced the nobles of her realm to pay that corpse the service they had paid to Philip when alive. These tales were utterly untrue. Juana was a prisoner in the town. No nobles were allowed to wait on her; no citizens were allowed to see her. The convent of Santa Clara lay some distance off. She never thought her husband was alive; and though she went to Santa Clara as a holy place, she never asked to see the vault in which his ashes lay. Yet this dramatic fable served her father's ends. What foreign people would desire their King to court a woman who was represented to their minds as buried in a living grave and chattering to a corpse?

5. When they had gained their object, Time, the English council were content to let this question of Juana drop. The King was failing fast.

A second marriage was a thing outside his thoughts. Their course was free. Fernando had not met their views; the courts had parted company; and everything between them was at an end. The language used by Henry was extremely frank. To Puebla, who affected to believe the match could be revived on payment of the hundred thousand scudos, and appealed to him for time in which to pay them, he replied that they might take their own—his offer was withdrawn. When he was asked to recollect the great amount of Catharine's dowry, he remarked that ladies with far larger fortunes had been offered to his son. To Catharine he exposed his mind in words which struck her like a shot. He told her plainly that the treaty with his son was broken off, and that in future she was not to call herself Princess of Wales. The girl was stunned. Whatever had been thought by others, she had always deemed herself the future Queen. If things were wrong in her affairs, she fancied that the Pope could set them right. Amazed by Henry's speech, she sent for Puebla, and desired him, as a learned man, to tell her if the King were free to break his treaty. Puebla shook his head; he feared the King was free. She turned to Fray Diego, her confessor, and Diego told her much the same. The King, her father, said this holy man, had never paid her dowry, and, her dowry being unpaid, the other side were free. She also learned, that as the Prince was under age, the promise given to her at Salisbury Court was not his own. Of any promise that the Prince had given in his minority, neither law nor gospel took account.

Distracted by these bitter words, she poured a flood of agony at her father's feet; imploring him to set things right, to send a new ambassador, to pay the money he had held so long, and put an end to her disgrace. She even offered, in her misery, to desert the cause of Queen Juana; nay, she actually implored her father to usurp the Kingdom of Castille. "It will be better for us both," she said, "you will be stronger there, and abler to assist me here." At heart, she thought that Puebla was a fool, that her confessor was mistaken, that the King of England cared for nothing but his pelf, and that the scruples of his prelates might be swept away by twenty lines from Rome.

6. Yet galling as her situation was in London, Catharine would not hear a word of going back to Spain. For good and evil, England was her home. Juana was a warning to the lonely woman, who enjoyed some freedom in her palace on the Thames, while her unhappy sister pined in a deserted castle on the Leon steppe. Although avoided by the Prince, abandoned by the council, and rejected by the King, she would remain, to use her own expression, even "if she were to die for it." No force on earth could make her go to Spain. Yet to remain in London, with her debts and duns, her joyless life, her disused title and disputed rank, was neither dignified nor safe. She told her father something of the truth. With shame she had to say that she had either pawned or sold the best part of her silver plate. "I let my servants walk about in rags," she wrote: "I cannot do the same myself; and hav-

ing no other resource left me, I am obliged to live on what I have. Your highness knows my state. How then am I to read your order not to part with any of my plate because it is a portion of my dowry?" She besought her father to recall his envoy, Puebla; sending Don Guter in his place. She got her medico, Johannes, to tell her father that even if she were well in body, she was sick to death in mind; that her disorder was beyond a doctor's reach; and that her only hope was in the kindness of his royal and paternal heart.

7. One thing Fernando saw that he must do. If Catharine was to stay at Durham House, he must invest her with a fixed position at the English court. Since she had been repudiated by the Prince, rejected by the Council, and deserted by the King, her situation had become too much like that of her cousin, the Señora Excellenta, in the convent of Coimbra. To give her a position in the English court, he sent her formal letters as ambassadress; letters which would entitle her to ask an audience of the King when she had anything to say. He also sent two thousand crowns in silver coin. It was a fall; but if she could not go to court as the Princess of Wales, she must appear as an ambassadress of Spain. She took her jewels out of pawn, and having dressed herself in fitting costume, sought an audience of the King, and asked him plainly how she stood. He told her, no less plainly, there was nothing binding in her contract with the Prince, and that her father knew and had confessed as much. A flush came into Catharine's face. She

would not bear, she said, to hear such words. Nothing in her contract with the Prince! A treaty had been made; the King had signed it; nay, her father, she was certain, held to it; and what was said of him was manifestly false! The King assayed to calm her. Yes, he answered, it was curious that Fernando should have said so much; yet what he had confessed was true. His son was free. Nothing whatever had been done to hinder him from marrying anybody in the world. She could not comprehend him, she replied, nor would she take his words to mean in sense what they appeared to mean in sound. Those words, she said, were hardly worthy of his grace, and in her pride and misery she rushed away.

CHAPTER IX.

Henry Tudor.

1508-9.

1. IN writing to her father, Catharine hinted that the King of England might even yet be brought to let her marriage stand, if he could have Juana and her kingdom for himself. "I bait him with the match," she said, "as I have written to your Highness, and his words and promises have begun to change." Convinced that Puebla was against her, she believed that he was moved by motives of the basest kind. "They fancy I have no more in me than appears in outward look and speech. They think I cannot fathom Puebla's depth. I dissimulate with him. I praise him, even when he is doing his worst to injure me. I used to treat him otherwise, but only hurt myself. The best plan is to cheat him." To Juana, also, she addressed a passionate epistle, begging her to accept the English King in order that she, her sister, might be happy with the Prince of Wales. "I entreat you," she concluded, "to forgive my writing to you on so great a matter. God knows how strong my wishes are. I am not able to resist. It seems to me, that not to do this thing will be a sin—a sin against God, against the

King our father, and against your grace, whose kingdom may our Lord defend and increase."

2. The Prince of Wales was handsome, and the Princess Catharine was in love. "There is no finer youth," said Puebla, "in the world; he is already taller than his father, and his limbs are of gigantic size." He was so huge a fellow that a few years' difference in their ages is not noticed. Having taken the affair in hand, Catharine went on to court Juana for a man who was already busy with his will, his works of mercy, and his tomb. She hinted to Juana that the King had fallen in love with her at Windsor, while her husband Philip was alive. "If he had acted as he secretly desired," she told her sister, "he would have kept you here; but since he is a very passionate being, it was thought better for his council to beseech him not to interfere with man and wife; on which account, and for other secret reasons—of which I was well aware—he hid the feelings stirred in him by your departure, though the parting weighed upon his heart. The love which he has felt, and feels for you, is known to everybody here."

3. Fernando, hearing that the King was sinking fast, was willing to await the end. In his replies, he said his heart was touched by Henry's offers to espouse his suffering child. If she should be inclined to wed a second time, and his consent were to be asked, he would engage his uttermost love, goodwill, and energy to promote the English suit. But she must not be pressed too soon. Juana, he went on, still kept the body of her husband in her

sight. Her moods were strange, and they must wait upon her state of mind. They dared not question and excite her. Philip had been dead a year, he said, yet she imagined he was dozing, and would soon awake. She paid him compliments, and made her servants treat him as a king. Until his corpse was buried, they could hardly speak to her of love. Yet Henry might be sure that when Juana married, she should have no second husband but himself. All this Fernando said, and having done so much, he had a right to say that love so true as his might seek some love in answer. Had the King, his brother, used him well in mating Lady Mary with Don Carlos by a secret treaty with the Archduke Philip and the Emperor Max? Don Carlos was his grandson, and the heir to all his crowns. The marriage of that heir was now his chief concern in life. No contract of the Prince was valid, save with his assent and that of his estates. If Henry wished his daughter Mary to be Empress he must work in friendship with the King of Spain. One way to please him, he concluded, was to let the match go on. Fernando was prepared to make two offers on behalf of Catharine. Let the King of England give his son to Catharine, and on his side he would give his grandson to Lady Mary, and promote with all good speed a union of Juana and the English King.

4. Don Guter came to England, and replaced the cripple at the English court. Don Guter, who had lived in London, was to press with all his might, but in a stately, open way, for a renewal of the contract, now that Henry, Prince of Wales, was come

of age. Whatever subject should be broached, he was to say it turned on Catharine's nuptials. If the English wanted peace with Spain, the Prince must marry Catharine; if they wanted Lady Mary to be Empress, he must marry Catharine; if they wanted Queen Juana and her kingdoms, he must marry Catharine. Yet Don Guter was to be discreet, and not to pledge himself too far. "The Queen Juana's hand must not be promised, yet his Highness must be fed with hope." Fernando told his envoy he had heard the King was nigh to death, and that his foremost duty was to please the Prince of Wales.

5. The King, in truth, was nigh to death. Since he had passed his year of mourning, he had never been at rest. The cares of empire weighed upon his heart, and in his saddest hours he had been forced to think of other wives. His council and his people had been urging him to marry, since the prospects of his kingdom seemed to hang upon a single life. A galaxy of lovely women had been offered to his choice: Louise de Savoie, Giovanna of Naples, Marguerite of Austria, Juana of Castille, and even Marguerite of Angoulême—yet he had put them all aside. His heart was in the Abbey where the mother of his children slept. His thoughts were running on the final change. The training and the settlement of his children occupied his time. One daughter, Margaret, married to the King of Scots, gave promise, in the accidents of nature, of a union of the two great island crowns. A second daughter, Mary, pledged to Don Carlos, grandson of the Emperor, would be Queen of all Fernando's

states. He needed nothing more from Spain. If worldly science were to govern hearts, his son and heir would seek a wife in France. That son was in his eighteenth year; a youth more likely to consult his passions than the wisdom of the world.

6. The royal chapel, where his consort lay, was growing into beauty under Abbot Islip's care. Of late, he had been working for the change in a yet nobler mood of thought; a mood too often crossed and chafed by baser business of the world. His soul seemed bent on deeds of mercy, love, and peace. Not waiting for the last sad hours of life, when virtue mostly comes too late, he gave himself the time for grace. Two years before he died, and while his health was good, he sent his agents into jail and compter to unearh all debtors who were held in misery for the sum of forty shillings or some smaller debt. Such prisoners were not rogues and bankrupts, who had cheated right and left, but luckless creatures who had stumbled in the fight of life. The King discharged their debts, and set a crowd of captives free. One year before he died, he signed a general pardon for offences; an unusual grant for dying kings to make. Nor was he satisfied with a grant that emptied jails in every county of the land. A thrifty prince, who paid his way, and kept his coffers full, the King had liked to have his taxes raised; and his collectors had been often tempted to employ the readiest means of raising them. Much injury had been done by suits of law; the more so, as the judges thought their duty lay in siding with the King's collector rather than with his objecting

tenant. But the time had come for him to temper policy with mercy. He was rich. His country was at peace. No pressing need compelled him to be harsh. He heard that some of his too zealous officers had pressed too heavily on certain persons. In his will and testament, he ordered full inquiry to be made into these grievances. All those who had been wrongly mulcted, were to have their fines repaid. All those who had been injured, were to have redress.

7. The will of Henry Tudor was a pious and a princely document, containing many noble thoughts, and touching many gracious things. This man of steadfast purpose, who had closed the reign of civil warfare, who had cooled the rage of faction, who had reconciled the principality, who had established English rule in Ireland, and proposed the basis of a future union with the Scots, gave many of his latest hours on earth to pondering on the details of his hospital. As he approached his end, the dreamy and ideal aspect of his character came out into the perfect light. He was a pilgrim knight, devoting time and strength to works of mercy. Six of the seven Works of Mercy lay within his reach. To tend the sick, to feed the hungry, to relieve the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to lodge the poor, to bury the dead, were deeds which might be done in his great hospital of the Savoy. So, with liberal hand, he gave the necessary funds. Ten thousand marks were left to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to carry out his plans. Five hundred marks in land were set apart. Two hundred beds were to be provided

for the poor and sick; a decent, though not costly, chapel was to be prepared for these poor people; but the works of mercy were to be considered first. "As there are few or none of such common hospitals in our realm, and for lack of such infinite multitudes of poor people die daily," said the King in his last will, "we therefore, of our great pity and compassion, direct you to erect, build, and establish a common hospital." A few weeks after he had signed this testament, the strong hand dropped, the tender heart grew still, and what remained of Henry Tudor was carried to the chapel he had built, and laid beside the woman who had shared the glory and the burden of his life.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.
CATHARINE CROWNED.

CHAPTER I.

Fernando.

1509.

1. WHILE the remains of Henry of Richmond were being laid in the royal chapel, near the woman he had loved in life and mourned in death, Fernando of Aragon was fretting with his second wife, the light and winsome Navarrese, in those grim chambers of Valladolid in which he had deceived his former consort, Isabel the Catholic, into her dubious marriage by a spurious papal bull. Six leagues across the steppe, his daughter, Queen Juana, lay at Tordesillas, guarded like a criminal of state. The monks supported him; the troops supported him; yet he was anxious and foreboding in his mood. His strength was failing; he was fifty-seven years old; and had outlived his earlier friends and foes. In that age kings were old at fifty-seven, and few survived to sixty years. Edward the Fourth had died at the age of forty-two; Henry the Seventh at

fifty-two; Charles the Eighth at twenty-eight; Louis the Twelfth at fifty-two; and Philip the First at twenty-eight. Among the active princes of his time, one only, Kaiser Max, attained the age of sixty years. Fernando was approaching the extreme. Since he had signed himself a King, as partner of his first wife, Isabel, four sovereigns had reigned in Navarre, three in Portugal, four in Naples, four in England, two in Germany, four in Poland, three in Sweden, two in Russia, three in France. He was the oldest reigning Prince.

2. Yet he was not surrounded, as an old man should be, by the harvest of his years and fame. His nobles were estranged; his towns were noisy and morose; his capital was turbulent. On every side, his people had to be restrained by either secular or spiritual arms. A board of bishops ruled the country, and a dozen boards of inquisitors ruled the towns. A Bishop of Cordova was his President of the Council, but above this bishop sat the monk Diego, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, now made his personal confessor and his spiritual guide. Ayora, with a foreign guard, were at his gates, and the three military orders were at his command. No man of high repute possessed the royal confidence. Velasco was in sullen mood. Tendilla kept aloof from court. Najara had been injured past forgiveness. Juan Manuel was a fugitive. Villena and Medina Cœli were in open feud. Ximenes had retired to Cartagena, where, in bitterness of spirit, he was entering on his famous raid against the Moors of Africa. Gonsalvo, now recalled from

Naples, was an object of suspicion and distrust. On coming back from Naples, he had been promised the Grand Mastership of Santiago, but Fernando dared not place this powerful order in Gonsalvo's hands. The Great Captain, therefore, had retired from court, and taking up his home among the men of Loja and Granada, spent his time in cultivating his estate and shielding the Moriscoes, who were numerous in the Vega, from the savage zeal of Fray Diego's familiars. Gonsalvo had no sympathy with inquisitors. Don Pedro de Cordova, his nephew, led a mutiny against them, and had suffered in the liberal cause. Nor had the Great Captain any sympathy with the factions which had overthrown his Queen. Fernando, in his greatness, felt himself alone.

3. When Max and Louis, following up the conference of Hagenau, had signed the Treaty of Cambrai, Fernando had been got to join it as the stronger side. But he was fevered and uneasy as to what his colleagues in the treaty were about. France was contending for the lion's share of spoil. If Venice should be stript of her possessions on the Continent, Louis and Max had more to gain than he. Louis was descending in his strength on northern Italy. The balance was again destroyed; and if he had to fight again, he had no more Gonsalvos in the south.

4. Cesare Borgia had escaped from his confinement in the Castle on the Mount. Some patriots of Castille, who saw a friend in every enemy of their Regent, helped him to a length of rope. The Count

de Benevente lent him horses; and the captive, dropping by his rope into the ditch, and clambering up the scarp, where Benevente's horses were in waiting, sped across the steppe, and carried his intriguing genius to Pamplona, where his brother-in-law, the King, had welcomed him with open arms. Soon afterwards he had lost his life before the fortress of Viana; but not until his presence in Navarre had sown the seeds of more abiding bitterness against the King of Spain. Juan Manuel's presence at the court of Max was adding to the jealousy which had already separated the contracting courts. Since Philip's death Fernando's intercourse with Max had been unfriendly. Max, as the paternal grandsire of Don Carlos, had assumed the chief direction of his education. As the boy had equal rights in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, the Emperor had thought his grandson's policy should be directed by a single mind. That single mind must be his own: he being the King of Kings; wherefore, on Philip's death, he had required Fernando to resign to him the government of Castille. It had become a question with Fernando whether he was gaining much by shutting up the Queen, his daughter, in a dreary castle on the Leon steppe.

5. One gleam of joy had flashed upon his heart. His queen, Germaine, of whom he was extremely jealous, bore to him an infant prince; a second Juan, to inherit Aragon and Sicily, and to dispute possession of Granada, Naples, and the Indies. This division of his country was the wreck and waste of thirty years of toil. The dream of a united mon-

archy was gone. Two hostile kingdoms would contend in future as they had contended in the past; and civil war might ravage every province from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Fernando gloated in his anger over all this coming waste. In half her realm, Juana and her son, Don Carlos, were uncrowned by the appearance of this boy. In Aragon and Sicily her son would have no rights, and Max's claims to interfere would henceforth have no scope beyond Castille. But once again the curse descended on Fernando's head. Within a few hours of his birth the royal infant passed away.

6. His death had forced Fernando to arrange his quarrels with the English court. Don Guter had been ill received, and on that envoy using haughty words, the King had told him that his treaty was no longer binding on the Prince of Wales, and that he had no more to say. Don Guter need not come to him again. On hearing this bad news, Fernando, who supposed his envoy was a fool, had talked of sending out a better man. But he had tried all sorts of men—duke, beggar, monk, and knight—yet every one in turn had failed. At length he had tried another course by sending out the hundred thousand crowns. Yet, when his envoy went to Henry with the money, Henry had refused to take it, saying the day of payment had expired. The English council had announced that they were free. If they were free, the Spaniard had replied, they might begin afresh. On what terms would they treat? The council had suggested terms which no one could have granted:—first, that the marriage of

Don Carlos with Lady Mary should be ratified by Fernando and Juana; second, that the whole marriage-portion of Catharine should be paid in coin, her plate and jewels not being reckoned as a portion of the dowry; third, that King Fernando, Queen Juana, and the Princess Catharine, should each and all renounce their right to ask, in any case, for any portion of the dowry back. "Then it is clear to me," the King of Aragon had said, "that Henry thinks he can do what he likes, and ask what he likes, because he holds the Princess in his power. Concession only raises new demands. The King has no desire to let the thing go on." Yet he was forced to try what could be done. Consulting with his trusty servants he agreed to yield on every point but one, the marriage of Don Carlos. Money might be paid; his plate and jewels might be lost; these sacrifices would but drain his coffers; but the marriage of Don Carlos with an English Princess would invite the King of England to a daily interference in his realm. To such a match he never would submit. Another envoy should be sent; an envoy who could be discreet and close, while seeming to be free and frank. This envoy was to say that he had come to London to cement the friendship of two powerful kings, and see the nuptials of Infanta Catharine and the Prince of Wales performed. If Henry spoke about his three demands, he was to say the dowry should be paid in coin, that Catharine had authority to use her portion as she liked. If this were not enough, he was to add that King Fernando and Queen Juana would renounce the

dowry. Were he asked about Don Carlos, he must see the King in private, and must tell him, as a secret, that his master had made a solemn vow never to speak about a match for Carlos till his daughter Catharine had been married to the Prince of Wales. If Henry were to hint that he might get a dispensation from this vow, the envoy was to say the King his master had made a second vow never to ask a dispensation from the first. But then he was to whisper, not as from the King of Spain, but only from himself, that his master had not set himself against the match of Lady Mary and Don Carlos. Nay, he was to say that since that match had been concluded by the Emperor, by the Archduchess Marguerite, and by the Council of Flanders, who had the young prince in keeping, there could be no doubt of Fernando and Juana ratifying it as soon as Catharine had been married to the Prince of Wales. The envoy was to take with him an aged and experienced confessor of the order of St. Francis. More of all, he was to carry out credentials to the Prince of Wales, with whom he was to find an opportunity of speaking soon. Much that could not well be put in writing was to be explained by word of mouth; and what the envoy was to say by word of mouth, is but too evident from what is written down. "Give the Prince our letters, and tell him that we, Fernando, place our person and our kingdom at his disposal." He was charged to stir up thoughts of a rebellion in the Prince of Wales!

7. Before this envoy had been ready to set out, the rumour reached Valladolid that the English King

was dead. A messenger from Brussels, who had met another messenger on his way to Lyons, told him this great news. But was it true? Fernando hardly dared to hope. No news had come from Durham House, though Guter knew that no intelligence could be sent to Spain so welcome as the news of Henry's death. A fact of such importance would have been despatched, Fernando fancied, in a dozen messages by sea and land. Yet he must act as though the news were true, for he could not afford to lose a day. Italian politics weighed upon his mind; for Louis, who had marched to execute the treaty of Cambrai, was winning province after province, and Fernando saw that he might soon be drawn into another war with France. If so, the balance would be turned by what the young and inexperienced English King might do. Fernando felt that he must act. To send a new ambassador was to lose some days, perhaps weeks. New powers were therefore sent to Guter, who was told to see the King, to use the sweetest words and choicest arguments, and not to let him rest till he had married Catharine. "This marriage," said Fernando to his agent, "is of highest moment, not to Catharine only, but to me; not on personal grounds only, but on political grounds; since it will secure to me the friendship and alliance of the English Kings." Guter was to speak of Catharine as the King's wife, to say they were already married, and that no one could dissolve that marriage bond. If Henry acted rightly, nothing he might wish would be refused. The marriage-portion should be paid in coin; repayment of

the dower should be renounced; a treaty of alliance should be signed; the match between Don Carlos and Lady Mary should be ratified; a fleet and army should be placed at his disposal; and, in case of need, Fernando would come in person with a powerful army to defend him in his states. Two other and more secret orders were despatched. Guter was to study the more influential counsellors, and see if they could be corrupted like the Verres and Chaus of Ghent. If they were willing to accept his bribes, Don Guter was to offer them sums of money in his master's name. "Take every means," Fernando said, "to bring the marriage to an end; all other business may be left alone till this is done." The second secret order was concerned with Catharine's chaplain and confessor. Catharine was sure to listen to her priest in matters which he would describe as things of conscience, and Fernando, knowing what had happened with her old confessor, Padre Alessandro, was uneasy lest another priest might interfere in this affair.

CHAPTER II.

The Confessor.

1509.

I. DON GUTER had come to London with the rank of Orator and Counsellor, an office new to Englishmen, who listened in astonishment to his floods of Latin and his flowers of speech. They heard, they stared, they ran away. Don Guter was a knight of Santiago, as he let the Council know; a man of pomp and words, who had the King's command to raise his voice for Spain. But this high fashion met with no success; for people only laughed at his conceits, and told him that his talk was vain, since Lady Mary and Don Carlos were betrothed by Holy Church, and nothing he could say would touch that match. In going from the palace to the street he was again surprised. In every place Don Guter heard the latest news, and found the people and their priests discussing his affairs. "The business of this country," he complained, "is public from the moment it is opened at the court." In church he also heard about the match. "They tell the people from the pulpit that this match is at an end; they lay the blame upon your Highness, saying you have not fulfilled your promise to their king." Some good, he thought, might come of

having a preacher of their own; a man like Pedro de Ayala, who had now become Bishop of Canaria; yet he feared that things had gone too far for words to mend them. "Even if we had a better preacher on our side," he wrote, "we could never get these people to believe anything save what they have already got into their heads."

2. Don Guter blamed the council for these failures. No one in the court was true to him; no one would keep his secrets; everything he said was noised abroad. That offer to Juana, he was certain, had been made in order to defeat the match of Catharine with the Prince of Wales. Where lay the cause? He never guessed that the conditions of the case produced these failures. Catharine was unwelcome to the English lords and to the English people. So far he could see and hear. But why was she unpopular? He looked at Durham House, and found the reason there—in her confessor. Fray Diego was, he said, the obstacle to her marriage with the English prince.

3. According to Don Guter, Fray Diego Fernandez was a monk with neither learning, piety, nor parts; a man as light of head and loose of tongue, as he was empty, vain, and proud. No one about the English court could bear him, and the King, Don Guter said, had asked in wonder, how the Princess could employ so vile a knave? But, strange to say, the Princess Catharine was infatuated with the wretch. Diego was the lord of Durham House. He made and unmade at his will; he put her pages out of place, and turned her women out

of doors. The Princess suffered him to rule her with an iron rod. She gave her bonds and sold her trinkets to supply his greed. With Juan de Cuero he was constantly at war, for Cuero was the keeper of her plate, which Fray Diego wished to sell. In fifteen days, with the assent of Catharine, he sold as much of her silver as produced two hundred ducats, which the Princess and her priest had spent in "follies." Cuero, he went on, had tried to stop these sales of plate, but Fray Diego bullied him for interfering in a business that was not his own, and the Princess had treated him as though he had been guilty of some heinous crime. To speak against her confessor was, Don Guter said, no less than treason in her eyes.

4. Cuero had begged Don Guter to protect him in his duty. He was under orders from Fernando not to part with Catharine's plate; until the marriage was complete, he could not yield that charge to any one. Don Guter spoke with Catharine; but the case was hardly opened ere he found that Fray Diego had so strong an interest with the Princess that this Knight of Santiago felt no scruple in ascribing it, in letters to the Secretary of State, as springing from illicit love! Diego, who was young and clever, seems to have made the welfare of his penitent—her welfare in the present and the future life—the end of all his toils. The man, no doubt, was fond of power, and liked to prove it in the teeth of knights and kings; but his offences, in Don Guter's eyes, were those of being too keen of sight, too faithful to his trust. Diego thought of Catha-

rine more than of Fernando, and advised her to consider what was right towards England ere she tried to think of what was best for Spain. A monk like Fray Diego would perceive in such an envoy as Don Guter an enemy in disguise; for Guter's purpose was to force the English people to accept the Princess, not on personal grounds of liking for her, but on public grounds of pledge and counter-pledge. The monk became the envoy's foe, and then the Princess, acting on the monk's advice, refused to see Don Guter any more. When he had told her, in his pompous figures, that she ought to drive away this youth and take into her service some experienced father, who could keep her conscience free and leave her reputation pure, she turned her back on him, refused to see his face again, and prayed her father, in a burst of anguish, to recall him into Spain.

5. Don Guter also wrote to Spain. "I will not speak of all the things that need correction in her household," he exclaimed; "the beginning, middle, and end of these disorders, is the friar. This man is light, scandalous, and haughty in extreme degree. All English persons hate to see such a friar continually in the palace and among the women." Don Guter sent to Spain a servant of the household who could tell the King "a great deal more" than he could write. "I beg your Highness," he continued, "when you have heard the man who brings this letter, that you will order the Princess to reform her household and her life." He gave an instance of Diego's insolence. Catharine and Mary, who

were living near together, in the neighbourhood of Richmond Park, had been invited by the King to join him at the palace, and a troop of lords and ladies had been sent to fetch them. Catharine had been sick the previous night; but she was well again; and at the early mass was noticed for her fresh and healthy look. Yet when she came to mount her jennet, Fray Diego stepped into the yard and cried, "You shall not go to-day." The English lords and ladies were amazed. "But I am well," the Princess said, "and do not wish to stay behind." Her words were vain. "I tell you," quoth the monk, "on pain of mortal sin, you shall not go to-day." She argued with him, but he would not swerve a jot. "I wish to go," she sobbed. "You shall not go," he answered. Not to cause him pain she yielded to his words, and sent to Mary, who had waited two hours for her, that she was not well enough to ride. The English lords and ladies rode away; laughing, as Don Guter hinted, at the lie which she had told. For they had seen her, both at chapel and at table, in her customary health. Next day, when she arrived at Richmond Park, in Fray Diego's company, the King refused to speak with her. Don Guter hinted he could say much more. "May God forgive me," he exclaimed; "but since I have seen so much of the Princess's household, I acquit the King of a great part, a very great part, of the blame which I once laid on him. I do not wonder so much at what he does, as at what he leaves undone."

6. Fernando had replied in biting terms to

Catharine, who returned his bitterness in words of gall. Cuero was audacious, Guter was unjust. Diego was, she said, the best confessor that a royal lady ever had; not only as to doctrine and ability, but in his personal sanctities of life. "It grieves me," she continues, "that I cannot keep him in the way his functions and my rank demand; for he is faithful in his office, and in giving good advice, and offering good example." Not content with this defence of her confessor, Catharine turned on Guter, and accused him of annoying her and her confessor out of love for one of her women, Francisca de Caceres, whom he had removed from Durham House, and married to a friend without her leave. "I shall not believe," she told her father, "that your Highness looks upon me as your daughter if you do not punish him, and order your ambassador to confine himself to his affairs, and not to meddle in my house."

7. Fernando was arranging to recall both Fray Diego and Don Guter when the news of Henry's death arrived in Spain. At once the scene was changed. "You must not speak a word to the Princess about her confessor," said Fernando to his envoy, "unless, indeed, you find him opposed to her marriage with the King." In that case Fray Diego was to be recalled, as Alessandro had been recalled.

CHAPTER III.

Henry of Greenwich.

1509.

1. IN the young King's person and accomplishments, there was much to take a woman's eye, and captivate a woman's heart. If he were not yet eighteen years of age, the time at which a youth is neither boy nor man, the King was an exception to all ordinary rules. Though still a youth, in youth's fresh rosiness and grace, he was a man in stature and in strength; a man who overtopped the tallest of his archers, and who drew a bow that few among these stalwart men could bend. His face was fine, his frame compact. With skin as fair, with eyes as blue, with hair as golden, and with mouth as sweet as Catharine, he resembled her in build and colour, as became the common heirs of John of Gaunt. "He had a round face," said the Venetian Pasqualigo, "so very beautiful that it would have adorned the person of a pretty woman." But the lad was huge as he was comely. In his length of arm, his width of chest, his swell of calf, a looker-on at butts and bars observed in him a man who had attained the full possession of his physical powers. In field, in cockpit, and in ring, he found few equals and no masters. If he chased the stag, he wore down seven or eight horses in a morning; if he

cast the bar, he pitched it clear above his rival's head; and if he stripped to wrestle, there were few among his guards who liked to tempt his fall. In jousting, which he loved beyond all other sports, he rode down almost every rider, and he shivered almost every lance. A knight so quick of eye and strong of limb as Brandon had to put forth all his skill when riding at the King. When mounted on his stallion, he was perfect in his beauty; not a common mortal, but a paladin, a hero, and a demigod. Sagudino, one of those shrewd observers whom the Doge sent over to describe the King, reported that when riding on his charger "he was like St. George himself."

2. Nor was he less a master of the weapon which was then the pride of every man of English blood; for every man was then an archer, and the hero of a festive gathering was the man who oftenest sped his arrow home. Though guns and muskets were in daily use, the bow retained its ancient fame. The best of archers were the royal guard, yet he could hold a bow against the champion archer of his guard. No pastime pleased him better than to make a match and beat the champions on their chosen ground.

3. In mind he was no less accomplished than in body. All the children of his father had been trained in princely arts; but they had studied many things which princes seldom learn. His reading had been wide and in some branches deep. Of letters and theology he had a knowledge far beyond the princes of his time. With science he had some success; he understood diseases, and he practised

medicine on himself and others. Making roads and building ships were pastimes with him. Not a shipwright in the Royal Navy could instruct him in this difficult art. He had a special genius for constructing bridges. As to lighter studies and attainments he could sing at sight, and play the organ, harpsichord, and lute. He had a knack of weaving verse in words and marrying them to music of his own. Amidst a thousand cares of state he set two services for the royal chapel which are still extant. Italians who approached his court, bear witness to his competency in music, both in science and in practice. Some of his pieces may be still occasionally heard. His anthem for three voices, "*Quam pulchra es, et quam decora,*" and his fine ballad, "*Pastance with good company,*" rank among the better known. Giustinian, a judge of music, says "he was extremely skilled in musical art;" and Sagudino, himself a player on the virginals and organ, wrote, after hearing him play and sing, that, in these exercises, "he acquitted himself divinely." Pasqualigo heard him sing at sight a service in the royal chapel, which was being conducted by the King himself. These services were described by musical Italians as without a rival in the world. "High Mass," wrote Sagudino, in his letters home, "was chanted by his Majesty's choristers, whose voices are rather divine than human. They did not chant, so much as sing like angels."

4. His use of foreign tongues is equally well attested. He had a fair knowledge of Latin and Italian. Among his letters which have been pre-

served, is a letter in Latin to Erasmus, and there are other letters in French to François and Marguerite of Austria. At Tournay, he was called by Marguerite to translate a word to Brandon, whose glibness of tongue was much less striking than his length of arm. Brandon had pulled a ring from the Archduchess's finger and put it on his own. Marguerite, laughing, called him a "laron;" but as Brandon was no scholar, the King was called by the Archduchess to explain her jest to his handsome, but unlearned knight. On finding Catharine slow in learning English, he made himself master of Castillian. In another generation, such accomplishments were usual; but in the days of Max and Louis they were rare. No ground exists for thinking any of these gifts lay only in the minds of courtiers. Ample proofs remain. The author of the book against Luther, and of many papers on the canonical aspects of marriage, must be allowed a certain knowledge of divinity and canon law. The patron of Holbein, the builder of Nonsuch, the contriver of masques and May-day games, the hero of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, cannot be denied the finer instincts of an artist. The contriver of the Great Harry might have been a great engineer, if he had not been born to be a great sovereign.

5. In these early days, his moral qualities were in line with his physical beauty and his intellectual range. Indeed his moral qualities, as became a youth who had been trained for service in the Church, were but the outward signs of a devotional

life within. Before his marriage, and for many years afterwards, he lived a blameless life. Bright eyes had little power to lead him wrong. For cards, and for the luxuries of the table, he had no immoderate love. Excess of any kind was his aversion, and the vices which arise from either drink or dice were never domiciled in his house. To find a young man pure as he, we have to look into the lives of saints. In "Pastance with Good Company," a song of which he is supposed to have made both words and music, he expressed the sentiment of his life,—

Pastance with good company
I love, and shall until I die;
Grudge who will, but none deny,
So God be pleased, this life will I.

For my pastance,
Hunt, sing, and dance,
My heart is set;
All goodly sport
To my comfort,
Who shall me let?

Youth will needs have dalliance,
Of good or ill some pastance;
Company me thinketh the best
All thoughts and fantasies to digest,

For idleness
Is chief mistress
Of vices all;
Then who can say,
But pass the day
Is best of all?

Company with honesty
Is virtue,—and vice to flee;
Company is good or ill,
But every man hath his free will.

The best I sue,
The worst eschew;
My mind shall be,
Virtue to use;
Vice to refuse,
I shall use me.

6. The youthful King's affections were profuse and quick. When he had given his heart, he looked for everything in turn, and meeting with the slightest coldness, he was apt to break into volcanic heats. From the good Queen, his mother, while she lived, and from his grandmother, Margaret of Richmond, afterwards, he was used to tender fondling; and his father, who was not so easily moved, could not refrain from showering his caresses on the handsome and accomplished boy. The courtiers and the clergy watched him with the highest hope; especially the clergy, who accepted the bright promise of his youth as a defence and ornament of Catholic truth. His father had been made Defender of the Faith, and he was therefore born Defender of the Faith. In Max, in Louis, in Fernando, Churchmen saw three secular princes, who could use religious orders as police, employ the bishops as collectors of rates, and either sack the Vatican or imprison the pontiff with as little scruple as they would feel in burning Oran or enslaving Moors. In Henry they beheld another sort of man; a Catholic, a devotee, and a Crusader of the Cross. Although a man of jousts and games, who sniffed the scent of battle like a charger, he was never missed from chapel during matins, mass, and complines. He was never absent from confession; never hurried in his works of penance; never doubtful of the mystery in the bread and wine. All duties owing by a Catholic towards his Church were paid by him with zeal, from weekly offerings on the altar to unbounded reverence for the Holy See. A wise

man, noting Henry in his youth, might well have feared, from his devotional feeling and his education, that if anything should go wrong with him in later life, the evil would arise from some disorder in a conscience too exacting for robust and perfect health.

CHAPTER IV.

A New Reign.

1509.

1. THE new reign opened like a play; with actors, scenes, and fortunes equally untried and strange. A King not eighteen years of age, with untold heaps of coin laid up, and power which he could either wield or drop as pleased him, was not likely to pursue a sober course. A change was soon apparent in the policy abroad and in the government at home; yet nothing took the minds of men so much as what occurred in reference to that foreign lady who had lived so long at Durham House. To her, the change was that of some bright being of the poet's brain; some Helena, some Morgiana, rather than of a thing of flesh and blood; but Helena's promotion in the House of Rossillon was not so high, nor Morgiana's rise in that of Ali Baba so meet. One day she was a stricken and despairing widow, and a few days later an acknowledged and exulting bride.

2. A month before the old King died she stood alone; in debt, in trouble, in despair; and one month after that event, the world was at her feet. The King had ceased to treat her as his daughter; nay, he had informed her that he was not bound to find

her meat and drink. The King had come to think of her as one whom he was feeding out of charity, as he was doing with the Savoy poor. At length, her proud heart straining at her false position, she had hinted that "it might be well for her to go, and spend the remnant of her days in serving God—the best thing that could happen to her now on earth." In April, she could only write of tears, of fasting, of a convent cell; in June she was the wife of an adoring youth and powerful King.

3. What sorcery explains this change? The youth who had renounced the contract of alliance was persuaded to fulfil it. He who had been recently described as cold to Catharine, suddenly became her suitor. Councillors who had signed the act repudiating her, became her loyal servants. Men who had denounced the papal bull as insufficient for the purpose ceased their protests. Partizans of a French alliance closed their lips. About the time when her own fancy had been picturing a broken widow passing through the portals of a Spanish convent, to remain in solitude and darkness all her days, like Queen Juana, her unhappy cousin in the cell of Santa Clara, she was seated in a royal chair, beneath the vaulted roof of Westminster Abbey, crowned with a golden rim, and with the beauty, chivalry, and piety of England at her feet. By what high magic had this change been brought about?

4. The sorcery was mixed in kind, as sorcery must be when success is to be won. From what is known of the young monarch's words, from what

is seen in histories of passion, there is reason to believe that he had long regarded Catharine with the craving of a youngster for forbidden things. When he renounced her in the presence of Fox at Richmond Palace, he was only fourteen years of age, a stranger to the power of love, and innocently blind to the exciting light of female eyes. But as he grew in years the memory of that act would stay with him, and his occasional vision of the foreign lady in his father's house would keep her image fresh in mind. The mystery of their separation could not fail to rouse his curiosity. Why should he not prattle with her, play with her on lute and harpsichord, take lessons from her in Castillian? He was learning Spanish; why not learn it from her lips? This parting must have sent his fancies wandering into rosy paths. Nor was her beauty of a nature to be lost on such a boy; a boy who, in his length of limb, his ruddiness of cheek, his purity of life, his love of enterprise and labour, was a type of what was best in English youth. Her lovely eyes, her fair complexion, her abundant hair, and even that breadth of feature which an artist might have called her fault, would seem to him, so sturdy and so vast in bulk, the fitting properties of a royal mate.

5. That Catharine loved the Prince, that she was always trying to be with him, and to please him, he must soon have been aware. No day had passed since he was fourteen years of age, in which his father had not been compelled to think of him in reference to the girl at Croydon Park. At times, the

Prince had heard that if the King of Spain agreed to so and so, the Princess was to be his wife. When he was sixteen years of age, the question of Juana had been raised. Events seemed nigh that would have cleared the ground; and while the messengers were speeding to and fro, the Prince and Princess were allowed to see each other on the footing of a youth and maid who may ere long be man and wife. What boy of sixteen summers could resist the coquetry of a woman six years older than himself? Her woman's wit was daily sharpened by advice from Spain. That, with her love for the great handsome fellow her repugnance to returning home, and her desire to execute her father's will, she would succeed in firing him, is only what a man acquainted with the subtleties of passion would expect. Before the old King died, she was so certain of her youthful lover, that she told her father she was easy in her mind about the Prince. If the old King should sink, she said, her nuptials might take place at once.

6. While she was waiting through the early days of mourning she received a letter from the King, her father, giving her instructions how to act. He had her marriage more at heart, he said, than any other thing on earth. As he had loved her much, and served her truly, he enjoined her to assist him in securing and completing the English match. According to his note, this marriage was his business, more than it was hers; and he expected help from her in what concerned so much the safety of his crown. Fernando was not sure, like Catharine, of the youthful King. For while his pen was moving

on the sheet of paper, news came in from London that the point of conscience had been raised again. The young man was reported to have raised this ominous question in his council—Could he marry with his brother's wife, without being guilty of a mortal sin, and bringing on his realm the curse of God?

CHAPTER V.

Case of Conscience.

1509.

I. FERNANDO kept the fact of such a point being raised a secret from his child, whose peace this Case of Conscience was to touch in after days. He wrote, however, to Don Guter on the subject, urging him to labour with the utmost secrecy and prudence in this question, since the marriage might depend on what was done. This match, he told Don Guter, was the greatest thing that he had ever done, or ever could be asked to do. The marriage, he declared, was one of those great acts that must be done at once, since many councillors and princes were opposed to it, and would defeat it if they had a little time. In fact, their project must be carried by surprise. With Catharine he must be extremely guarded; not alarming her by tales of what was being either said or done until the matter was arranged. If Fray Diego showed himself in favour of the marriage, he was not to be disturbed at Durham House, and nothing further must be said to him about the aged and experienced member of the Order of St. Francis. In his conversation with the English council, Guter was to use the utmost caution; not denying that the Princess had been Arthur's wife; but urging that

when Rome had given a dispensation from the penalties of sin, the marriage of a woman with her departed husband's brother was a lawful act.

2. In dealing with a young and pious prince, who was in love, and only wished to see his way, Fernando saw that he might meet this plea of conscience with a counter plea. He, too, could prate of conscience and of sin. The King was bound by sacred ties. He had espoused the Princess openly at Salisbury Court. She bore his name, and was his consort in the eyes of men. Fernando dwelt on the example of his son-in-law, Manoel, who had married two sisters, Doña Isabel and Doña Maria, in succession, each of whom had been the King of Portugal's wife and queen. These marriages had been allowed by Holy Church. Yet fearing that the youth might start on being invited to adopt the "curse of Portugal," as an example, he made haste to speak of the felicity enjoyed by Manoel with his second queen. Maria was the mother of a troop of boys and girls—John, Isabel, Beatrix, Luis, and Fernando. Portugal ran no risk of lapsing into civil war for lack of heirs direct. In brief, the articles being signed, the dispensation granted, and the betrothal rites performed, Don Guter was to tell the lover that his contract was complete. The world regarded Catharine as his wife, and should he part from her he would be guilty of a heinous sin.

3. In speaking to the councillors near the King, Don Guter was to use a language more direct. He was to tell these councillors that the contract had been made and signed; and that to break this con-

tract was to enter on a war with Spain. A hint was to be dropt, in season, that a Spanish fleet was ready to set sail, and that a Spanish army stood in readiness to embark. But he was not to trust in arguments and threats alone. A most important part of his commission was to find out who had charge of this affair of conscience. When he got the list of names he was to scan it well, and look at it in every light. If possible, he was to bribe them all. But if he could not bribe them all, he was to find out which of the commissioners would have the leading voice. Of him he must be sure. On finding who would sway the King, he must, at any cost of money, win that councillor over to the side of Spain.

4. The council were divided in opinion, as they always had been; Warham being on one side, Fox on the other side. Warham had hitherto prevailed. But now the question had to be debated from another side; not before a sage and cautious ruler, with his treaties signed and friendships made in every court of Europe, but in hearing of a boy who had been suddenly called to reign. The councillors wanted peace and trade with Spain, for which Fernando had a right to ask his price. They sat beneath a threat of war. They understood that threat to mean invasion of the realm, a further trouble in the border shires, a rising of the Irish septs, and a renewal of the civil strife. The Yorkist faction was not wholly dead, and there was one White Rose at large in Richard de la Pole. This member of the House of York, a soldier of ability, was living in the

court of France, where he was held in high esteem. Don Guter's words were strong, and yet the facts were stronger than Don Guter's words.

5. Lay councillors such as Surrey, Daubeney, and Herbert, cared but little for ecclesiastical subtleties. Few among them could pretend to offer an opinion on a point of law. Nor were the earls and barons generally wiser than themselves. This case, they said, was one for lawyers and divines, not men of the world and men of the sword. These sturdy earls and barons, many of whom could hardly read and write, were asked to settle, first, what were the precise limitations of Hebraic law in matters of affinity; next, what parts of that Hebraic law had been adopted into Christian codes; and third, whether any of the limitations laid down by Moses and adopted by the Church, could be suspended by the sovereign Pontiff. These were questions, they affirmed, for Churchmen to decide. Unhappily, the Churchmen differed in their verdicts. Warham said one thing, Fox another thing. How were men like Surrey, Daubeney, and Herbert, to pronounce? If they could take the Pontiff's word about the law, the arguments in favour of proceeding with the match were very strong. The King was young in years and new in office. Since his father's death all treaties had been swept away, and they had all their friendships yet to make. Spain offered them a good market for wool and cloth, and she supplied the English ports with leather, wine, and oil. She was their chief ally against the French; their only ally should the Scots combine with France. No monarch in the world

could do them so much harm as Catharine's father; and the councillors were not left in doubt, that if they sent the Princess home they would enrage their powerful neighbour to the highest pitch.

6. They had, in fact, to study these provisions of the canon law in front of shotted guns. Fernando, while affecting to believe that the young sovereign would do right—that is, that he would marry Catharine and fulfil his bond—took pains to let the world perceive, that if his daughter were refused by Henry, as Marguerite of Austria had been refused by Charles the Eighth, there would be such a war between the crowns as he had waged against the Caliphs; war to the knife, and war beyond the knife. He caused it to be said in London, not in secret and in dubious phrase, but openly and from himself, that if the Princess Catharine were rejected, he would glut his vengeance on the English people, even though the world should perish in their strife. Such threats, from such a prince, were not to be despised by prudent councillors. The man who had dethroned the Excellentia, slain the Friends of Light, expelled the Jews from Spain, removed King Phœbus and King Philip, trapped Cesare Borgia, and confined his daughter in a prison, was not likely to be scrupulous in his means and sparing in his wrath. Spain was great, and seemed far greater than she was. By her alliances with Austria, Portugal, and Flanders, she appeared to cover Europe with her influence. The New World owned her sway. She was the leading force in Rome.

7. The councillors had also to consider the effect

of a refusal on the match of Lady Mary and Don Carlos. That alliance was regarded by their recent master as the crown and glory of his life. Don Carlos would be emperor, not as Max was emperor, without a penny and with hardly an estate, but as the lord, proprietor, and ruler of the world. It was an object of the Tudor King to place a princess of his family on so great a throne; and yet without Fernando's leave, that match could never take effect. Fernando offered his consent, but only on condition that the nuptials of his daughter were completed with the reigning King. On summing up their facts, the case stood thus:—

I. The King must either marry Catharine or prepare for war with Spain.

II. The King must either marry Catharine or prepare for trouble in his Irish lands and in his border shires.

III. The King must either marry Catharine or prepare to fight a new Pretender in the person of Richard de la Pole.

IV. The King must either marry Catharine or endure to see his sister's marriage with Don Carlos set aside.

V. The King must either marry Catharine or offend the Pontiff and the Roman court.

VI. The King must either marry Catharine or appear to set his personal reading of the law above a judgment of the Universal Church.

8. Among the councillors who had at first opposed the Spanish project, some had been converted by the papal bull. While Rome was silent, they

had held that Rome would not pronounce. When Julius laid the Case before his cardinals, they could hardly say the matter was beyond appeal. When they perused the bull, they had submitted their opinions to the Holy See. This was the case with Warham. As a lawyer, he contended that a pontiff could not set aside the law of God; but when the bull was issued, he refrained from further acts of opposition to a project which appeared to have the sanction of his spiritual chief. As he retired, the laymen were invited by his silence to decide the policy of a match with Spain on secular and political grounds. Being pressed, as they conceived, from every side, they tried to think the marriage might be right. With Catharine they were offered peace, secure alliances, and a settled future. If the thing were wrong, it was the Pope's affair. Was it for men like Surrey and Daubeney to dispute with popes about their apostolical power? What could these gallant swordsmen know of Roman law? If penalties were incurred by Henry in his marriage with the Spanish lady, they supposed the Pope and his confessor could remove the consequences of his guilt. The Pope had spoken. Was he not the highest judge?

CHAPTER VI.

At Greenwich.

1509.

1. WHILE priests and councillors were balancing their fears and hopes, the man and woman who were most concerned were secretly arranging the affair; and in a way that no one would have liked, had it been known in time; and yet that every one accepted when the thing was done.

2. The King, whose opening days of royalty were no less full of noble labour than of innocent sport, was loved as only youthful kings are ever loved. On his accession he proclaimed a general pardon for offences. He insisted on the rapid execution of his father's will; attending, even in the depth of his great sorrow, to the building of his hospital and the redress of injuries. In every branch of Government his energy was felt; in the Navy, in the Treasury, in the Chancery, in the Church. It was his genius to remember every one, his fortune to remember everything. At once the various branches of administration felt the impulse of a quickening brain. From policy his father had but rarely shown himself in public; thinking it imprudent in a King to make himself too cheap. The new king had

another mood. His craving was to go everywhere, to see everything, to know everybody. Archers, sailors, monks, prelates, councillors, were to him the same. He liked to bandy jokes, and share in the amusements of his people. Mixing in the cudgel-matches, morris-dances, and archery contests, he would undertake to hold his own in these old pastimes; playing his part on archery-ground and village-green with frankness, courage, and good humour which no mishap could disconcert. He was a thorough English Prince, in whom the youth of England saw themselves as in a glass.

3. In May the King retired to Greenwich, as the house in which his parents had been used to pass their days of mourning. In the palace by the water-edge he had been born, and in the parish church near by had been baptized. The palace had been much enlarged; a front being thrown along the river in that rich red form of architecture which we call the Tudor style. The King delighted in this house, not only as his place of birth, but as a site which fed the famine of his eyes for boats and ships. From tower and terrace he could watch his ships of war and trade sail up and down the Thames; could note their names, their tonnage, and their crews; could scan with a young Viking's eye each quality of their handling and their speed. Catharine was at Greenwich, in her character of ambassadress at his court. But she was more, much more, to him. She was his bride-elect, with the authority of a woman who was six years older than himself. She made herself the mistress of his house; she

took upon herself his cares; she gave her orders to his people with the air of one who was already queen. No thanks to Guter, she was in her place at last, and ready with the smile and word so dear to one cast down by sudden grief. Among the gentlemen of the household she was ceasing to be called Princess of Wales, the title she had borne for many years. In French she was called Infanta of Spain; in English, Princess of Castille. She called herself a Princess of Castille, and in this name she made her offerings in a small Franciscan chapel lying near the palace gate.

4. Adjoining the new front of Greenwich Palace lay a bit of waste land, which the late King had given to Father John Forrest, Father William Peto, and a small body of friars who nursed the sick about his house, and chanted lauds in his private chapel. They were members of the Order of St. Francis, and were called in English Observant Friars, Grey Friars, and Minorites. By their founder's rule these men were sworn to abject poverty and unquestioning obedience. They were to own no house and land; they were to beg their bread and salt; they were to sleep under arches and in doorways; they were to live with the insane, the outcast, and the leper; they were to follow armies on the march, to shrive the dying, and to cover up the dead. Not being in priest's orders, they had neither the pretensions nor the habits of regular clergy: not being monks, they had no permanent homes, no splendid churches, no exalted rank. Poor Christian brothers, they affected to be humblest of the humble,

lowliest of the low. Their founder's rule had not been strictly kept, and least of all in Spain, where Kings and Cardinals had been proud to wear their frocks and build them homes. In England, where the rule had been more strictly held, the weaker sort had come to live in houses, to collect libraries, and even to accept of lands and money. The more godly and ascetic of the order had not ceased to raise their cries against these innovations. Yet, even after some of the Franciscan friars had been debased by wealth and learning, they were still the unpaid nurses of the sick, the unsought teachers of the poor. They understood diseases, and they cultivated herbs and plants. They did a work which no one else would undertake. An order with the rule to work, and with the spirit to refuse all payment for their work, had suited the late King, who, finding these poor fathers cheap and useful friends, had given them leave to build their cells beneath his palace wall.

5. Catharine was a sister of this order, and the friars were bound to her by many ties. At Greenwich they had five small houses which were dedicated to the Virgin, to St. Francis, and to other saints. The sovereign now no more had left five hundred marks to keep those houses in repair. As soon as Catharine came to Greenwich, John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber, paid these marks to Father Forrest, Father Peto, and the rest. She went to mass in the little chapel used by Father Forrest and the friars, instead of to the parish church. These friars were her earliest English friends, and

were in after days to be the zealous partners of her fortune and her fall.

6. On Monday, the eleventh of June, these humble brethren of St. Francis saw a rite performed that was to agitate the Christian world. That morning Henry, King of England, stole, with Catharine, Princess of Castille, into their tiny chapel near the palace wall, and asked the priest to make them man and wife. Who stood beside the altar—who gave away the bride—who witnessed the rite—who blessed the union—we are nowhere told. It was a secret act that made the King and Princess man and wife. One person only, other than the friars, is named as present; Gonsalvo de Puebla, son of the late ambassador from Spain. No member of the council knew that such a rite was being performed that day. No bishop gave his blessing, and no chancellor signed the register. No page, no gentleman of the household, came with King and Princess to that modest shrine. The bearer of the privy purse was absent. If Father Forrest tied the knot, he never told the tale; nor is there any record in the volumes of his Order of the great and ominous deed then done. Yet on that summer day, the festival of St. Barnabas, the King cut short all further wrangles in his council and his capital, by leading Catharine to this private altar, and by making her his wife and queen.

CHAPTER VII.

Wife and Queen.

1509.

1. SIX days elapsed ere any one outside the small Franciscan convent heard this startling news. A longer time elapsed before the world outside the convent and the palace heard it. Six days after that festival of St. Barnabas, John Heron, bearer of the privy purse, was told to place two extra offerings on the altar of that small Franciscan chapel. He was in attendance at the Sunday mass, and after putting down his customary noble, he was told to add a marriage present from the King and Queen. He laid ten shillings down for each, and booked his payments for the bridal day. Two days later, William Pole was named King's serjeant, with the special duty of attending on the Queen. Pole had been usher of the chamber to her Grace of Richmond, and was of a family connected with the royal house. Two other days elapsed before the news was known in Cheape and by the water-side.

2. But though the rite were done in secret, and the thing had all the seeming of a runaway match, some legal measures had been taken in the previous week. Four days at least before his wedding-day the King had nerved himself to put an end to all disputes by taking Catharine for his wife. On Thursday he had got the Princess, who was staying

in the palace, to renounce her dowry of two hundred thousand crowns. On Saturday, they had received from Guter the originals of two renunciations of the dowry; one by Fernando, in his quality as King of Aragon; the other by Juana, in her quality as Queen of Castille. On Sunday, Henry had made a grant to Catharine, Princess of Castille, of lands and rents in more than thirty English shires. This present had required the chancellor's seal to make it safe. A messenger had therefore gone to Lambeth Palace with the parchments, and a royal warrant for the chancellor to stamp them with the seal. This warrant mentioned that the grants were made to Catharine "on her coming marriage with the King." On Sunday night at latest, Warham must have known what Henry was about to do, and while he held his own opinion on the legal point, he yielded as a statesman to the thing he could no longer help.

3. A few days later, it was known to every one in London that the young and jovial King had put an end to all debates by taking Catharine as his wife. It was a vast surprise. Although the coronation-day was near at hand, no orders had been issued for the crowning of a Queen. But everything about the youthful King was like a romance. Orders came at length from Greenwich, and the Abbey was arrayed in gold and crimson, for a sight to make men wonder. On the day before his coronation, Henry brought his bride by water to the Tower, in which it was supposed that every English sovereign ought to sleep on such a night.

The Duke of Buckingham was made High Constable; the Earl of Surrey was appointed Marshal. Warham, Chancellor and Primate, was to hear his royal oath, and set the crown upon his regal head. Though young, the King was master in his house. A change, suggesting much that was to come in after days, was introduced by him, no doubt with the assent of Warham, as his chancellor, into the coronation oath. The older form of oath had bound the King to guard "the rights and liberties of Holy Church, of old time granted by the righteous Christian Kings of England." Henry changed this form of oath. He only swore that he would "keep and maintain the lawful rights, and the liberties of old time granted . . . to the Church of England." Even these concessions to the Church were qualified by the condition that her lawful rights and liberties should not be "prejudicial" to his crown and dignity. His father would have shrunk from such a change of phrase; but he was not the sovereign of a party like his father; and although his reverence for the Pope was great, he had no need to lean with undue weight on Rome. Nor would the King, his father, have described the Church in England as the Church of England. Henry of Richmond lived and died a Catholic; the follower of a faith which had one centre and one head. A National Church would have appeared to him a monstrous and heretical growth.

4. The long debates in council, and the frequent change of envoys out of Spain, had been no secrets in the tavern and the workshop. Nothing

could be kept from people's ears, and every apprentice lad in London was aware that Catharine had been offered and refused. The Case of Conscience, the Appeal to Rome, the coming of a papal bull, the contract, the betrothal, the repudiation, and the threat of war, had all been canvassed in the streets. Among the King's advisers fears were entertained lest doubts should linger in the public mind about the lawfulness of this clandestine marriage. Warham's view was known, and shared by many citizens, that if the Spanish lady were Prince Arthur's widow, she could never be King Henry's lawful wife. A doubt on such a point might raise up tempests in the future. To remove that doubt was not an easy thing; but what the King and Queen could do was done. The Articles which told the truth were kept from public sight. The papal bull, which told some portion of the truth, was also kept from public sight. No statement could be safely made in words; yet something might be done to satisfy the public through their eyes. The Queen put off her widow's weeds, and issued from the Tower a virgin bride. Her dress, her maids, her followers, and her horses, were of maiden white. A robe of white embroidered satin clothed her form. Her long and rippling hair hung down her back, as was the way adopted when a virgin married. White palfreys drew her litter, and the ladies of her train wore silver cloth. Six riders followed on white horses. Priests with silver crosses met her in the streets, and clerks with silver censers waved a perfume in her face. A band of virgins stood at the

Exchange to greet her. They were dressed in white, and bore white tapers in their hands. A company of gentlemen were formed, who took the name of Minerva's Scholars, and a second company who took the name of Diana's Knights. The torch of Hymen burnt with virgin flame.

5. The blessing and anointing done, the bride and groom, now crowned as King and Queen, dropt down the Thames to Greenwich Park. Already summer heats were on, and life was easier by the water-side in Kent. A royal barge, pursued by other barges, bore them down the stream, with bray of snorting horns and riot of exploding guns. These barges bore a motley company, in which a minstrel jostled with a knight, a wrestler chaffered with a monk. A young and jovial court was formed, in which the morning sport was followed by the evening song. A joust, a masque, a feast, a Maying, varied the delights of every week. The married lovers went a-nutting in the woods. They clomb the hill; they ran into the glade; they dangled in their wherries on the stream. They ran about in search of sights. One night the King put on the dress of his own yeomen of the guard, and with a halbert on his shoulder, marched to the King's Head, in Cheape, and on St. Peter's eve he brought his consort to that famous inn, to see the city watch go past. One day they held a wrestling-match; another day they cast the lance and drew the bow; two sports in which the King excelled. They dressed a company of men in green, and played the merry game of Robin Hood. The King was

tipsy with his joy, and Catharine poured her love on him like sunshine on her southern plains. "My love for Catharine is so great," he wrote, "that if I were not married to her, I would not exchange her for any other woman in the world." And thus, beside the sparkling river, and beneath the leafy woods, these married lovers spent the second portion of their honeymoon.

6. All eyes were bent on them in hope. The King and Queen had taken every heart by storm. By their romantic union they had broken through a formal rule, and everybody, who has not to answer for the breach, is glad when princes break through formal rules. They had removed a weight from every back. All fear of war had passed away. A reign of peace was opening out, and trade seemed likely to increase in every port. The Churchmen were at rest. The country was profoundly calm. All parties and pretenders vanished. York and Lancaster were ceasing to be factious names. Across the border all was still. The thing that every one had said could not be done, was done; and done as every one supposed, beyond appeal. Prince Arthur's widow was King Henry's bride. No priest, no lawyer challenged her to prove her right. If any one was in the wrong it was the Pontiff, and the people were too Catholic in feeling to imagine that a pope could be to blame. In gazing on the youthful King and Queen men threw the past, with all its fears, behind them, and, in ignorance of coming tempests, hailed the morrow as a portal of the golden age.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

NINTH BOOK.

(Continued.)

CHAP. IV.—1. Pole to Killingworth, May 12, 1502; Mocenigo to Doge and Signory, December 10, 1502; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502; *Rot. Parl.* VI. 270.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, April 29, 1502; Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 25, 1502; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. XVII. c. 14.

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4. Cott. MSS. Galba, II. 105; Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough), II. 306; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, I. 134, 226; Hall, *Henry the Seventh*, LV.

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2. Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 12, 1503.

3. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, IV. 654; *Privy Purse Exp. Eliz. of York*, XCVII.; Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 12, 1503.

4. Isabel to Puebla, April 11, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503.

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6. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, I. 195.

CHAP. VII.—1. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503.

2. Isabel to Estrada, May 4, 1503.

3. Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. IV. c. 55; Carvajal, *Documentos Ineditos*, XVIII. 307; Isabel's Letters Patent, Medina del Campo, Nov. 23, 1504.

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2. Henry's Commission to Warham, Fox, and Barons, Richmond, June 20, 1503; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 718.

3. First Marriage Act, 32 Henry VIII. c. 38; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, I. 441; Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, I. 108-123.

4. Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 7, 8, 216; Wolsey to Henry, July 5, 1527.

5. Draft of Treaty, Richmond, June 23, 1503.

CHAP. IX.—1. Draft of Treaty, June 23, 1503.

2. Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 7, 8.

3. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Jan. 24, 1504; Ratification of Treaty by Fernando and Isabel, Barcelona, Sept. 24, 1503; Repudiation of Treaty by the Prince of Wales, Richmond, June 27, 1505.

4. Cott. MSS. Vesp. c. XII. 218; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, I. 196; Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, I. 108-29; Herbert, *Life and Reign*, 216. For the general view, see Reeve, *History of the Law of England*, IV. 206-19; Vaughan, *Reports in the Common Pleas*, 206-13; and Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, II. 449. For the particular application see the correspondence from Rome, in *State Papers of Henry the Eighth*, vols. VII. and VIII.

5. First Article of Draft, June 23, 1503.

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TENTH BOOK.

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2. Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Catharine to Isabel, Nov. 26, 1504; Haro, *Nobilarario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de España*, II, 376.

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6. Isabel to Estrada, second letter, Oct. 3, 1503.

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5. Henry to Alexander, July 18, 1497; Morton to Alexander, July 18, 1497; Berni, *Tít. Cast.* 187.

6. Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504.

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4. Mem. of Sacred College, Sept. 21, 1503; Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504.

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7. Mem. of Sacred College, Sept. 21, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504.

CHAP. V.—1. Draft of Articles, June 23, 1503; Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Ratification by Isabel, Sept. 30,

1503; Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504.

2. *Chronica Juridicialia*, 147; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 273; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, I. 172; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* I. 142, 196, 376, 518, II. 367, III. 16, 292, 601, 673; André, *Vit. Hen. Sep.* 33.

3. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 2.

4. Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 2.

5. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. de Card. d'Amboise*, 114.

6. Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.

7. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.

CHAP. VI.—1. Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Jan. 24, 1504.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Jan. 24, 1504.

3. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. XII. 134, and *Federa*, XIII. 89. That this document, usually printed as the papal bull, was a mere draft, is evident. A fortnight after it was dated, Cardinal Adriano reported from Julius that nothing had been done (Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504). Seven months afterwards, Fernando and Isabel told Estrada that the Pope had not yet issued any bull, but 'promised' one by word of mouth (Fernando and Isabel, to Estrada, June 26, 1504). Henry had not yet ratified the articles (Henry's Ratification, March 3, 1504).

4. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Casale to Henry VIII., Dec. 26, 1532; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, VI. 134.

5. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. XII. 134; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 114, 116.

6. Commission to Henry's ambassadors, Feb. 18, 1504; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504.

7. Commission to Henry's ambassadors, Feb. 18, 1504; André, *Vit. Hen. Sep.* 84; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, II. 60, 179; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, I. 451.

CHAP. VII.—1. Julius to Henry, July 6, 1504; Novaes, *Pont. da San Pietro*, VI. 135.

2. Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.

3. Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 113-20; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. II. 235; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 2; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXIX. c. 4.

4. Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. II. 236-8; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 2.

5. Sismondi, *Hist. Rép. Ital.* VII. 170, 171; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXIX. c. 4.

6. Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 120-3; Martin, *Histoire de France*, VIII. 431-2; Henry's Ratification of Articles, March 1504.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

2. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. XII. 134; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* II. 605.

3. Henry to Estrada, July 1, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

4. Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 3; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. III.

5. Macchiavelli, *Legatione alla Corta di Roma*, Dec. 2, 1503; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. III. 246; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 125.

6. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 3; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. III. 247; Raynaldo, *Ann. Eccl.* 1504, 12.

CHAP. IX.—1. My Note-book; Carvajal, *Documentos Ineditos*, XVIII. 308-9; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. III. 247.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. VI. c. 3; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXIX. c. 4; Sanuto's *Diary*, VI. 282.

3. Julius to Henry, July 6, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504; Quirini Correspondence; XLIX. 2.

4. Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Julius to Henry, July 6, 1504.
5. Estrada to Isabel, August 10, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504.
6. Estrada to Isabel, August 10, 1504; Sylvestro di Giglis to Henry, March 17, 1505.
7. Puebla to Fernando, Oct. 23, 1504; Proclamation by Fernando and Isabel, Medina del Campo, Nov. 16, 1504; Fernando to Henry, Nov. 24, 1504.

CHAP. X.—1. Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504; Isabel's Will, Oct. 12, 1504; Est. Patron. Real Sest. leg. 3^o.

2. Puebla to Isabel, Oct. 23, Dec. 5, 1504.

3. Isabel's Will, Oct. 12, 1504, Est. Pat. Real. leg. 3^o. The fifth clause is supposed to have been added on the 17th of Nov. 1504. See Bergenroth, *Sup. Cal.* 63.

4. Fernando to Puebla, June 22, 1505; Informacion de lo que pero Sarmiento, Corregidor de Medina, &c. Arch. gen. Lim. Est. leg. 1²⁰, 192; Treaty of Blois, Sep. 22, 1504; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 203; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXX. c. 1.

5. Transcript of Isabel's Letter-patent, Nov. 23, 1504, Arch. gen. Sim. Pat. Real. leg. 2; Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. v. c. 84; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. XXVIII. c. 11.

6. "Informacion de lo que pero Sarmiento corregidor de Medina dixo lo qual no se vio con la turbacion del tiempo que entonces corria. Año de 1507."

En la noble villa de medina del campo a diez e syete dias del mes de mayo año del nascimiento de nuestro señor Jesuchristo de mill e quinientos e syete años en presençia de mi anton lorenço de herrera escriuano de la Reyna nuestra señora e su notario publico en la su corte e en todos los sus Reynos e señorios e vno de los del numero de la noble çibdad de palençia e de los testigos de yuso escritos el bachiller alonso Ruyz contador de cuentas de la Reyna nuestra señora mostro e presento una çedula señalada de los señores de su muy alto consejo e vna casta mensagera del señor dottor carvajal del consejo de su alteza e dixo que mandava e mandava e

mando a mi el dicho escriuano que Resçibiese çierta ynformacion que los dichos señores mandavan Resçebir sobre lo conthenido en la dicha çedula e carta por quanto complia al seruiçio de su alteza que se hiziese secretamente e ante escriuano que el quisiese elegir lo qual me mandava e mando so pena de diez mill mrs. para la camara e fisco de la Reyna nuestra señora e que para que yo fuese çertificado que las dichas señales de la dicha cedula son de los dichos señores quel estava presto de dar çierta e verdadera ynformaçion su tenor de las quales dicha çedula e carta es este que se sigue.

“Bachiller alonso Ruyz Jues e pesquisidor de la villa de medina del campo el señor dottor carvajal del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora vos escriuira de nuestra parte sobre çierta perquisa e otras cosas que aveys de haser conviene que luego entendais en ello y lo hagays como el dotor vos lo escribe y de vos se espera que lo hareys de antyguedad a honze de mayo de quynientos e syete años.” En la qual dicha cedula estan çinco señales e firmas hechas en çierta forma.

“Muy virtuoso señor: aqui se hà sabido quel corregidor sarmiento dixo ay algunas palabras de la Reyna doña ysabel nuestra señora que aya santa gloria y del señor Rey don fernando su marido, diçiendo que ella estava en el ynfierno y ques venia a Robar este Reyno. Estos señores vos mandanque muy secretamente hagays la pcsquisa de lo que ha pasado y gela enbies cerrada e sellada al liçençiado moxica mencomendo que vos escribiese que le buscasedes una mula a mi me hares merçed tambien en ello y entiendese que no aves de poner de vuestra casa syno el trabajo y quedo señor a lo que mandardes el dottor carvajal y en el sobrescrito de la dicha carta dezia: al virtuoso señor el bachiller alonso Ruyz juez e pesquisidor de la villa de medina del campo e dezia en el sobrescrito de la dicha çedula de los dichos señores: el bachiller alonso Ruyz juez e pesquisidor de medina del campo.”

E luego yo el dicho escriuano dixe que por quanto me paresçia ser la causa secreta e las señales e firmas de la dicha çedula de los señores liçençiado tello e liçençiado

moxica e dottor carvajal e liçençado santiago e liçençado polanco que por Reverençia e acatamiento de los dichos señores que dandome ynformacion de ser asi çiertamente suyas las dichas señales e firmas de la dicha cedula questava presto de haser lo quel dicho alonso Ruyz contador por virtud de la dicha çedula me mandava testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es el liçençado hernando de sahangund e el bachiller pero ordoñez de pampliga e Rodrigo de amor criado del dicho liçençado sahangund e juan descobar su hijo del dicho liçençado.

E luego el dicho alonso Ruyz contador suso dicho dixo que para que yo el dicho escriuano fuese certificado de ser aquellas las firmas y señales de los dichos señores del consejo que ante mi Resçibiria e Resçibio juramento del dicho liçençado sahangun pesquisidor e del bachiller de panpliga que presentes estavan los quales luego encontinente juraron en forma debida de derecho por dios nuestro señor e por santa maria e por la señal de la cruz en que pusieron sus manos derechas e por las palabras de los santos evangelios segun forma de derecho que bien e lealmente diran la verdad de lo que quiesiesen e les fuese preguntado e syendoles hechada la confusyon del dicho juramento ellos e cada uno dellos dixeron e Respondieron y juro e amen e lo dixeron e declararon siendoles mostrada la cedula original de los dichos señores e vyendola e leyendola e las firmas dellas es lo syguiente.

El dicho liçençado hernando de sahangund testigo jurado en forma dixo que conoçe a la primera señal e firma de la dicha çedula se del señor liçençado tello e la segunda del liçençado moxica e la tercera del dottor carvajal e la quarta del liçençado santiago e la quinta del liçençado polanco e que lo sabe por que muchas veces ha visto las dichas firmas e señales en muchas cartas e provisiones de la Reyna nuestra señora e por que las tiene agora en provision e comision que tiene para el alboroto acaesçido en esta villa que esta presentada ante mi el dicho escriuano questa es la verdad so cargo del dicho juramento e firmolo de su nombre liçençado sahangund.

El dicho bachiller de panpliga testigo jurado e preguntado dixo que conosçe las firmas conthenidas en la dicha çedula original que le fue mostrada que son de los señores del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora e que la primera firma es del liçençiado tello e la segunda del liçençiado moxica e la tercera del dottor carvajal e la quarta del liçençiado santiago e la quinta del liçençiado polanco e que lo sabe por que este testigo ha visto muchas firmas de los dichos señores en cartas e provisiones de la Reyna nuestra señora asi cometidas a este testigo como a otras personas e que es asy verdad so cargo del dicho juramente e firmolo de su nombre el bachiller panpliga.

Vista la ynformaçion susodicha de los dichos testigos como la dicha çedula era señalada de los señores del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora e que aquellas sus firmas e señales yo el dicho escriuano digo que estoy presto de conplir lo quel dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz de parte de los dichos señores me mandava e mando testigos los susodichos.

E luego en continente el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz en presençia de mi el dicho escriuano e testigos de yuso escritos reçibio juramento en forma debida de derecho de los dichos aluaro de mercado e francisco cuello e de cada vno dellos por dios nuestro señor e por santa maria e por la señal de la cruz que con sus manos derechas tocaron e por las palabras de los santos evangelios do quier que mas verdaderamente estan escritos que bien e leal e verda deramente sin arte e syn engaño dirian la verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado en este caso sobre quel dicho bachiller en nombre de los dichos señores quiere dellos aver ynformaçion e que no la dexaran de deçir por amor themor ni desamor in por otra causa que a ello les mueva e siendoles hecha la confesion del dicho juramento dixeron e Respondieron sy juro e amen e lo que los dichos testigos dixeron e depusieron so virtud del dicho juramento es lo siguiente testigos los susodichos.

Testigos.—E luego el dicho alonso Ruyz bachiller susodicho mostro secreta e apartadamente al dicho

alvaro de mercado la carta original del señor dottor carvajal que enbio al dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz a que los dichos señores del consejo se Referian, e leyda e vista la dicha carta por el dicho aluaro de mercado dixo so virtud del dicho juramento que lo que sabe deste caso es que en el mes de setienbre que paso del año pasado de quinientos e seys años estando el Rey don felipe que santa gloria aya e la Reyna nuestros señores en la villa de valadolid este testigo viniendo de fuera llevo a ver e hablar a garçi sarmyento corregidor desta villa de medina como a corregidor que es e que estando ablando con el este testigo e aluaro de lugo Regidor de la dicha villa e el liçenciado vargas e francisco mercado sobre ciertas cosas oyo e vio dezir al dicho garçi sarmyento co Regidor que la Reyna nuestra señora doña ysabel que dios tiene en su gloria estaua en el ynfierno por tener opresos los ombres e queste testigo le dixo que sy la Reyna nuestra señora no estaua en el parayso que este testigo no entendia yr alla e quel dicho aluaro de lugo vicndo sobresalio tanto al dicho corregidor le aparto por que no dixere mas palabras e que asy mesmo a vydo dezir a algunas personas que avia dicho el dicho co-Regidor en Regimiento e fuera del quel Rey don hernando era Robador e que sy benia a estos Reynos que todo el Reyno hera Robado fue preguntado por el dicho bachiller a que personas oyo lo susodicho dixo que lo oyo desir a francisco cuello vesyno desta dicha villa e questa es la verdad so cargo del dicho juramento e firmolo de su nombre aluaro de mercado.

Testigos.—El dicho francisco cuello testigo jurado e preguntado siendole mostrada la dicha carta del dicho señor dottor carvajal dixo que lo que sabe deste caso es que estando un día con el co-Regidor garçi sarmyento en su posada por el mes de setiembre que agora paso del año pasado de quinientos e seys años estando con el dicho co-Regidor muchas personas que eran algunas Regidores e el escriuano de conçejo e otras ablando en la Reyna doña ysabel nuestra señora que santa gloria aya el dicho co-Regidor dixo que la Reyna doña ysabel estava en el ynfierno por thener muchos opresos que no thenian culpa e contra justijia e questo fue en el dicho mes de setienbre

estando el Rey e la Reyna nuestros señores en valladolid e que casy a la sazón en el dicho mes estando el dicho co-Regidor en las casas de Regimiento baxando de los estrados de lo publico para se yr a lo secreto estando presentes asaz Regidores e el escriuano de conçejo e otras personas baxando ablando en el Rey don hernando de los dichos estrados oyo desyr al dicho co-Regidor quel señor Rey don hernando hera un tirano Robador e que sy estuviera en estos Reynos que todo lo Robara e questa es la verdad so cargo del dicho juramento e que otras cosas de esta calidad oyo dezir que habia dicho el dicho co-Regidor e firmolo de su nombre francisco cuello.

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de medina del campo a diez e nueve dias del mes de mayo del dicho año en presençia de mi el dicho escriuano e testigos de yuso escritos el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz mando jurar e desir su dicho e dipusiçion a cristoval sanz de medina procurador mostrando le la çedula original de los señores del conçejo el qual oyo e dixo que por acatamiento e Reverençia de sus merçedes queria hazer lo que de su parte le hera mandado, e luego el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz Resçibio del juramento en forma debida de derecho, so virtud del qual dixo lo syguyente testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es el liçençiado sahaund pesquisidor e juan descobar su hijo.

Testigo.—El dicho cristoval sanz procurador testigo jurado e preguntado çerca de lo contenydo en la dicha çedula e carta dixo que por agosto o por setiembre del año pasado de quynientos e seys años poco mas o menos tienpo estando en la carçel publica desta villa de paso garçi sarmiento co-Regidor desta dicha villa vido e oyo quel dicho garçi sarmiento desia questos Reynos avian sido muy mal governados e que creya que la Reyna doña ysabel segun su mala governaçion que estaua en el ynfierno e quel Rey de Aragon con ella nunca hazia syno Robar e desypar estos Reynos que era muy tirano ombre e que otras vezes hablaua otras cosas desta calidad contra sus altesas e que nunca hablaua bien dellos e que estauan presentes a la sazón francisco de mercado escriuano e

aluario de lugo e que a francisco de mercado escriuano le peso mucho dello e se le boluyo la color e que tambien le peso a este testigo e que Respondiera syno fuera porque era justiçia e por esto no oso e callo e que tambien ha visto quel bachiller maldonado alcalde del dicho co-Regidor dize algunas cosas contra el señor Rey don hernando diziendo que nunca aca verna ny el diablo aca le traya e que nunca habla bien de su altesa e questa es la verdad de lo que vyo e oyo so cargo del dicho juramento e firmolo de su nombre e dixo que lo del bachiller maldonado es publico e notorio en esta dicha villa e fuele leydo su dicho e dixo que asy era verdad como esta asentado cristoval sanz de medina.

E despues de lo susodicho el dicho dia diez e nueue de mayo de dicho año el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz dixo que mandava e mando a mi el dicho escriuano so la pena que thenya puesta que le diese la dicha ynformaçion que ante mi avya hecho escrita en limpio ce Rada e sellada e synada con my sygno para la presentar ante los señores del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora de my parte e por cuyo mandado avya avydo la dicha ynformaçion e me la mandava dase que sy asy lo hiziese que haria lo que devia en otra manera que protestaua lo que protestar devia e que Rogava a los presentes que fueren dello testigos que por ser la causa secreta no podia Requerirme ante otro escriuano e yo el dicho escriuano digo que estoy presto de le dar la dicha ynformaçion escrita en limpio ce Rada e sellada e sygnado con my sygno pagandome my justo e devido salario testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es Rogados e llamados para ello e vyeron hazer el dicho pedimyento al dicho alonso Ruyz contador de quantas de su altesa el liçenciado de sahagun pesquisidor a la sazón en la dicha villa e juan descobar su hijo e francisco Ruyz veçino de la dicha villa de medina del capmo el bachiller alonso Ruyz. E yo el dicho anton lorenço de herrera escriuano e notario publico suso dicho presente fue a todo lo que dicho es e de mandamiento del dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz por virtud de la dicha çedula e carta de los señores del consejo de su altesa que presente fue a todo lo que

aquí firmo su
nombre. dicho es juntamente con los dichos testigos e saque esta ynformaçion del original que en my poder queda lo qual va escrito en estas tres hojas e una plana de papal de pliego entero con esta en que va my syno e ençima de cada plana van tres Rayas e debaxo de cada vna va my Rubrica e firma acostumbada e va en la margen do diz aquí firmo su nombre vala e no enperca e porende fize aquí este my signo en testimonyo de verdad. . Anton lorenço de herrera.

Arch. grâl. Sim. Est. Leg. 1²⁰ folio 192; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart. Ep.* 279.

7. Fernando to Henry, Nov. 26, 1504; Fernando to Puebla, June 22, 1505; Quirini Correspondence, XLIX. 2.

ELEVENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. *State Papers of Henry the Eighth*, VII. 121, 129 161.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502, June 26, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1501.

3. Henry to Catharine, Aug. 4, 1504; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504; *Mem. Hen. Sev.* 268, 412.

4. Catharine to Fernando, Nov. 26, 1504.

5. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, Dec. 13, 1502; June 26, 1504; Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 1503.

6. Isabel to Puebla, Sep. 30, 1502.

7. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Green, *Princesses of England*, v. 3.

CHAP. II.—1. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

2. Henry to Catharine, Aug. 4, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504.

3. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

4. Isabel to Puebla, Aug. 10, 1502; April 11, 1503;

Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504; Catharine to Fernando, Dec. 15, 1505.

5. Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504.

6. Henry to Catharine, Aug. 4, 27, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

CHAP. III.—1. Catharine to Fernando, Nov. 26, 1504; Catharine to Isabel, Nov. 26, 1504.

2. Fernando to Henry, Nov. 26, 1504.

3. Giglis to Henry, Mar. 17, 1505; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXX. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. de Esp.* lib. XXVIII. c. 12.

4. Fernando to Estrada, Sep. 24, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Henry's Proclamation, Mar. 12, 1505.

5. Speed, *Chronicles*, 973; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 7, 8, 216.

6. Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, Dec. 5, 1504; Catharine to Fernando, Nov. 26, 1504; Catharine to Puebla, Mar. 24, 1505.

CHAP. IV.—1. Catharine to Puebla, March 24, 1505.

2. Quirini to the Signory, March 30, 31; April 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 1505; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* 275-7; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart.* Ep. 290, 291; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXX. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. de Esp.* lib. XXVIII. c. 12.

3. Instructions and Reports of Francis Marsin and others with respect to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, in 1505, items 15, 18; Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Catolica*, vi. 499; Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. 5, c. 84; Manrique, *Regimiento de Principes*, in *Can. Gen.* 1520.

4. My Note-book; La Suma de los abtos que fisieron los procuradores de las cortes de las cibdades e villas destos Reynos estando juntos en las cortes generales que se fizieron en la cibdad de Toro, este año de 1505; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. XXX. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* lib. XXVIII. c. 12; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 200.

5. Fernando to Puebla, June 22, 1505; Quirini to the

Signory, Dec. 20, 1505, March 30, April 4, 16, 1506; Castro, *Hist. Rel. Int.* 40, 41.

6. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, Sep. 5, 1505; Fernando to Henry, November 9, 1507; Lopez to Manoel, Oct. 10, 1505; Lopez, the Portuguese minister, speaking of Henry, says:—"E trata muy secretamente nesta casa seu filho primcesse de Galez com a filha mayor del Rej Felipe, com a qual dias ha que foy tratado e prometido, quando o cardeal ca veyo perao dito dalfym, e que doca collor de desfayer o casamento da Infanta doña Catarina, por que ho ha por muyto cargo de comcjencia."

7. Catharine to Henry, Aug. 17, 1505; Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 12, 17, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, July 26, 1505.

CHAP. V.—1. Catharine to Henry, Aug. 17, 1505; Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 12, 17.

2. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 1505; *Epistola Regum Scotorum*, I. 11; *Letters and Papers*, I. 269; Napier, *Hist. Not. of Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 162 et seq.; Ellis, *Original Letters*, Third Series, I. 115-132.

3. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 12, 17, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, Aug. 1, Sept. 7, 1505.

4. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 17, 1505.

5. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 17, 1505.

6. Catharine to Henry, Aug. 17, 1505; Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 17, 1505.

CHAP. VI.—1. Quirini to the Signory, Mar. 30, 1506; *Narrative of the Reception of Philip, King of Castile, in England*, in 1506; Bergenroth, *Sup. to Spanish State Papers*, Int. XXXIV. 73-4.

2. Henry to Cardinal Adriano, Feb. 18, 1506; Quirini to the Signory, Jan. 23, 30, Mar. 30, 1506; *Reception of Philip in 1506*; Tighe, *Annals of Windsor*, I. 434-40.

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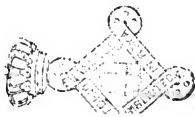
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